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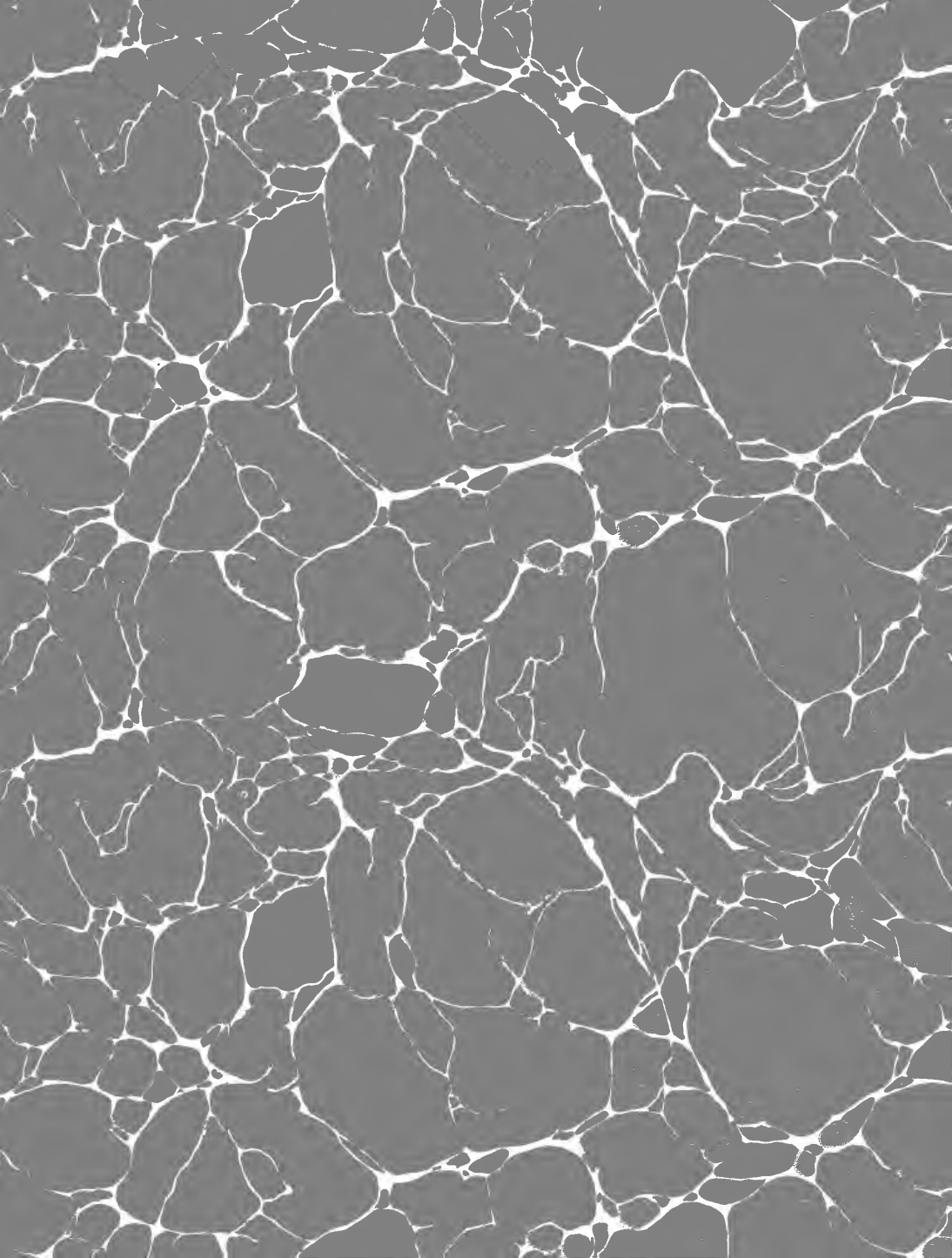


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Verrazano the Explorer:

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BEING A VINDICATION OF HIS

LETTER AND VOYAGE,

WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE

MAP OF HIERONIMO DA VERRAZANO.

AND A DISSERTATION UPON

The Globe of Ulpius.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SUBJECT.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
BY B. F. DE COSTA.

NEW YORK:
A. S. BARNES & COMPANY.

1880.

PREFACE

The following pieces have been reprinted in a revised form from *The Magazine of American History*. In sending them forth again, attention may be called to the fact that no additional proof has been offered respecting the alleged capture and execution of Giovanni da Verrazano by the Spaniards. On the other hand, the testimony in favor of the statement of Ramusio, that Verrazano lost his life at the hands of the natives on the coast of America, appears to have been strengthened. Proofs of cannibalism have also been adduced from the Canadas to Florida. According to one view, he was condemned October 13th, 1527, and executed at Colmenar in the month of November. The author learns, however, from M. Pierre Margry, that he has a letter, written at Paris, October 14th, 1527, which says that Verrazano was then preparing to visit America with five ships, expecting to sail the following February or March. If this letter is authentic, the story of his capture and execution would appear to be false. The great reward offered by the Spaniards for his capture might have led the Spanish officials to deceive themselves or the government. Columbus, the Discoverer, has been confounded with a Pirate of the same name, and this mistake was made by the person who wrote or edited the Life of the Admiral. More light is needed.

Somewhat recently a copy of an unpublished document came into the hands of the author. This gives a glimpse of the operations of Giovanni da Verrazano, in the year 1525. It was found in the archives at Rouen by the late M. Gosselin, and was copied for our use by M. de Baurepaire, the Archivist, at the instance of M. Gabriel Gravier, of Rouen, President of the "Société Normande de Géographie." The task of deciphering this document was very difficult, and no person less skilled than M. de Baurepaire could have succeeded. As it remained, a few words at the end, evidently unimportant ones, however, baffled his ingenuity. It may be difficult to say what is indicated concerning the financial ability of Verrazano at the time the action was inaugurated. The "Clameur de Haro" was a Norman method of taking an appeal to royal authority, and had the effect of staying all proceedings for the time. The translation runs as follows :

"Friday, the last day of September, 1525.

"The Honorable Zanobus de Roussalay, citizen, merchant, dwelling at Rouen, who pledges and gives bonds by these presents, that Messire Jehan de Verrassane is in the right to defend a certain *clameur de haro* raised against him by Guillaume Eynoult, called Cornete, dwelling at Dieppe, to obtain payment of the sum of ninety-five livres, claimed and demanded by the said Eynoult from the said de Verrassane, or to establish the right of de Verrassane, or to pay the said sum if it is adjudged to be due, engaging to Fremyn Poree and Robert Tassel, sergeant royal

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at Rouen, present, who have received the said bonds, of which they are held satisfied, save the obligation to reimburse them according to what the one and the other."

The obscure French may be added, to enable the reader to judge for himself of the character of the translation :

" Du vendredi penultime jour de Septembre, 1525.

" Honorable homme Zanobus de Rousselay, bourgeois, marchand, demeurant a Rouen, lequel plege et cauxionna par ces presentes Messire Jehan de Verrassane d'ester a droit et deffendre certaine clameur de haro que l'on dit avoir esté sur luy interjectée par Guillaume Eynoult dit Cornete, demeurant a Dieppe pour avoir paiement de la somme de 95 livres pretendas et demandées par ledit Eynoult au d[it] de Verrassane on de establir icellui de Verrassane ou payer la d[it] somme s'il estoit dit par justice que faire se doye promettans a Fremyn Poree et Robert Tassel, sergent royal at Rouen, presents que ont receu lad [it] caution de laquelle ils se sont tenus pour contens sauf á renforcer toutefois que á rason de lad [it] reception ils ny l'un d'eulx."

It is to be hoped that the personal history and the ultimate fate of Verrazano may yet be cleared up, by the aid of documents still to be discovered.

The author desires here to express the obligations he is under to various persons for assistance in connection with this subject. Among them he would make particular mention of the Right Reverend Doctor Chatard, formerly President of the *Collegio Romano*, at Rome, and now Bishop of Vincennes; the Reverend Doctor Conrad, who, as Rector of the *Propaganda Fide*, furnished the facilities for our examination of the Cartographical treasures preserved in that institution; the Reverend Professor Father White; J. Carson Brevoort, LL.D., and John Russell Bartlett, Superintendent of the Carter-Brown Library, Providence.

The writer has already expressed the opinion, that certain names on the Verrazano Map have an Italian as well as a French reference. This view has been strengthened by a careful comparison of the map with the map of the coasts of Illyria and Dalmatia, referred to in the Letter, and where are found such names as "I. Cervi," "I. Lunga," "Belvidere" and "Palmanuova." The latter may be the correct rendering of the obscurely written word which we have given as "Palamina," while "bomuetto" may be "Bonivetto," after the Italian Admiral. In the sketch of the Verrazano Map given in our combination sketch, several letters, particularly obscure in the original, are marked by dots.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF VERRAZANO

The first printed account of the Voyage of Verrazano is found in Ramusio's "Navagationi et Viaggi," Venice, 1556, III., p. 350. It is entitled, "Relatione di Giovanni da Verrazanno Fiorentino della terra per lui Scoperta in nome di sua Maesta., scritta in Dieppa, adi 8 Luglio M.D.XXIII." It is alluded to in the same volume, p. 352, in the "Discorso d'un gran Capitano de mare Francese." Belleforest, in his "Histoire Universelle," 1570, Book IV., gives details. The Letter of Verrazano to Francis I. was translated by Hakluyt in his "Divers Voyages," London, 1582, which also contains Laudoniere's reference to Verrazano. The same Letter, slightly revised, appears in his "Navigations," Vol. III. p. 295, Ed. 1660. Linschoten notices Verrazano in his "Discourse of Voyages," 1598, p. 217. See also the Voyage in Herrera, "Historia General," 1601, D. III. L. vi. c. 9. Wytfliet follows in his work of 1603, p. 100. De Laet's "Histoire du Nouveau Monde," 1603, p. 100, makes mention of the Voyage. In 1661 Dudley, in his "Arcano del Mare," published at Florence, Vol. II. chap. vi. p. 29, makes an allusion to the Voyage, saying, "E tronò allora degl' Indiani, che pigliauano del tobacco in fumo con la pipa." In 1706 the Voyage appears in Vander Aa's Collection, published at Leyden, in Dutch. Vol. X. devotes thirty-one pages to the subject, and gives a plate. "Uomini Illustri Toscani," Florence, 1768, Vol. II. contains the portrait of Verrazano with a eulogy. Barcia, in his "Essayo Chronologico," Madrid, 1726, folio 8, refers to Verrazano. Annibale Caro, in a letter to Hieronimo da Verrazano, written from Sicily, October 13, 1537, and published in "De lettere familiari" of Caro, Venice, Vol. I. p. 6, Ed. 1581, refers to the Map of the Voyage. Tiraboschi, in his "Storia della Letteratura Italiana" (Mantua, 1771-82), calls attention to the Voyage, and mentions the copy of the Letter, with its Appendix, in the Strozzi Library at Florence. Foster's "Discoveries in the North," p. 43, treats of the Voyage. In De Murr's Life of Behaim, Gotha, 1801, p. 28, there is a notice of the Map, mentioned by Cardinal Borgia, in a letter to De Murr, of January 31, 1795. Lock's notice is found in Clark's "Progress of Maritime Discovery," London, 1803, p. 130; and the Map is mentioned in Millin's "Encyclopedique," Vol. LXVIII., 1807. The North American Review, October, 1837, contained an article on "The Life and Voyages of Verrazano," by George W. Greene; reprinted in "Historical Studies," New York, 1850, p. 321. Some account of the Voyage appears in Bancroft's "United States," Vol. I. p. 17, Ed. 1839. The New York Historical Society, 1841, Vol. I. S. 2, p. 37, of its Collection, gives the Text of the Letter, according to the Magliabecchian manuscript, this copy

having been made at the instance of Prof. Greene. It accompanies an English Translation by Dr. Cogswell, who also furnishes a preliminary notice. The "Saggiatore," Rome, 1844, Vol. I. p. 257, contains Prof. Greene's Essay with the Carli Letter. In 1850, Shillinglaw referred to the Voyage in his "Narrative of Arctic Discovery," p. 30. Thomassy published an account of the map in "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages," Paris, 1852, reprinted the same year as "Les Papes Geographes," etc., and in 1853 Prof. Greene's essays, with a dissertation by Archangel, was reprinted in "Archivio Storico," Florence, Vol. IX. Errizzo, in "Scoperta Artiche," Venice, 1855, p. 141, makes an allusion to the Voyage. The Voyage is noticed in Asher's "Henry Hudson," Hakluyt Society, 1860, p. lxxix.

The next publication on this subject was of a character adverse to the Voyage of Verrazano, and but for its publication little of what followed would have appeared. This was "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of documents concerning a discovery in North America," claimed to have been made by Verrazano, read before the New York Historical Society, Tuesday, October 4th, 1864, by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1864, p. 31, with a section of the Globe of Vlpus. This pamphlet included a translation of the Carli Letter. The Inquiry was reviewed by its author in "The Historical Magazine," Vol. IX. p. 169, under the head of "Verrazano as a Discoverer." In Vol. X. p. 299, he also gave some notes on the Map. Dr. Kohl, in Vol. I. p. 249, 2d series, of the Collections of the Maine Historical Society, 1869, has an account of the Voyage. See, also, Stevens' Historical and Geographical Notes," 1869, p. 36; followed by "The Northmen in Maine," by B. F. De Costa; Albany, 1870, pp. 149. Afterwards attention was directed to the subject by President Daly, of the American Geographical Society, in a letter to Mr. Thos. E. Davis, at Rome, published in the Bulletin of the Society, 1871, p. 80. This letter secured a photographic copy of the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, which Mr. Brevoort used. Then appeared "Verrazano, the Navigator, or Notes on Giovanni da Verrazano, and on a planisphere of 1529, illustrating his American Voyage in 1524, with a reduced copy of the Map. A paper read before the American Geographical Society of New York, by J. C. Brevoort, a member of the Society." New York, 1874, 8vo, pp. 159. This was favorably noticed by F. H. Norton, in the New York Commercial Advertiser, 1875. Next appeared, in opposition to the Voyage, and to the paper of Mr. Brevoort, "The Voyage of Verrazano; A Chapter in the Early History of Maritime Discovery in America," by Henry C. Murphy. New York, 1875, 8vo, pp. 198, 4. The Nation, January 27th, contained a notice of this work; and the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" for January, 1876, contained a favorable notice, which called out from B. F. De Costa "Verrazano; A Motion for the Stay of Judgment." New York, 1876, pp. 16; this being a reprint from the "Charlestown Advertiser." The "Nation," of New York, Dec. 7, 1876, contained a favorable notice of the "Motion." The "Revue Critique," Paris, January, 1876, contained copies of two powers of attorney, of importance

in connection with the subject, afterwards printed with English translations as an Appendix to Murphy's "Voyage of Verrazzano." The "Revue Critique" also contained a partially favorable notice of Mr. Murphy's work, by Mr. Henry Harriette. The "Geographical Magazine," London, 1876, January, had a favorable notice of Mr. Murphy's book; and *L'Eco d'Italia*, New York, May 9th, 1876, contained an unfavorable notice; followed by an equally unfavorable notice, by Mr. Major, in the "Pall Mall Gazette," of May 26th, 1876, which was reprinted in the "Geographical Magazine" for July, 1876. The "American Church Review," July, 1876, contained another adverse review of Mr. Murphy, by B. F. De Costa. See "Verrazzano" in Bulletin No. 39, p. 137, Boston Public Library, 1876. The student may also find observations by Mr. Charles Deane, in Vol. II. p. 219, 2d S., of the Maine Society's Collections, 1877. "The Globe of Vlpus, 1542," 1878, p. 8, was a reprint formed of some notes of a Paper on "The Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpus, 1542, in its relation to the Map of Hieronimo Verrazzano, 1529." The paper was read before the New York Historical Society, by B. F. De Costa, on the evening of Dec. 4th, 1878. The daily press of New York for December 5th, contained notices of the Lecture. It was also noticed, Dec. 8th, 1878, in "*L'Eco d'Italia*." The Newport "Mercury," of March 28th, 1878, contained an abstract of this Lecture, showing the connection of Verrazzano with that place. The "Compte-Rendu" of the "Congrès International des Américanistes," Vol. I. 1878, p. 535, has a note in defense of the Voyage of Verrazzano, criticising Mr. Murphy's work adversely. The "Magazine of American History," 1878, contained, in February, "The Letter of Verrazzano," in May, "The Voyage of Verrazzano," and in August, "The Verrazzano Map." The Boston "Daily Advertiser," Sept. 24th, 1878, contained an editorial referring to these articles. Afterward followed an article in the "Magazine of American History," January, 1879, on "The Globe of Vlpus," in its relation to the voyage. The four articles, in a revised form, with this Bibliography, are combined in "Verrazzano the Explorer," A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1881. See "Memorial History of Boston," 1880, pp. 32-35, 41-44.

Notices of the Voyage of Verrazzano may be found also in Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopedias, and in such works as Brodhead's History of New York, the Gay-Bryant History of the United States, Miss Booth's History of New York, and Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's History of New York. Verrazzano is also mentioned in the principal school histories. The long list of works already given, however, embraces nearly everything of a critical character that has come to the notice of the writer, and may perhaps serve every purpose of the investigator.



VERRAZANO VINDICATED

THE LETTER OF VERRAZANO

GIOVANNI da Verrazano was born at Val di Greve, a little village near Florence, about the year 1485, being the son of Piero Andrea di Bernardo da Verrazano and Fiametta Capella. The portrait of the Italian Navigator which accompanies this discussion is reproduced from the representation found in "Uomini Illustri Toscani," which was copied from a painting in the Royal Gallery at Florence. A search recently instituted failed to bring the original portrait to light. An attempt to find a copy of the medal that was struck in his honor met with no better success. The last member of the family in Florence was Cavaliere Andrea da Verrazano, who died in 1819. There is nothing either to prove or to disprove the authenticity of the portrait, and the presumption is in favor of its authenticity. It is now faithfully reproduced for the first time, though on a diminished scale.

In his mature years, after some experience upon the Mediterranean, Verrazano entered the service of Francis I. of France, and became famous as a privateer or corsair, a profession sufficiently respectable at that period, having been followed by many great navigators. In 1523 Verrazano captured several ships bringing to Spain the Treasures of Montezuma. This act in particular excited the enmity of the Spaniards, who constantly sought for an opportunity to get him into their power. In 1524 he made his voyage to America. In 1527, it has been maintained, he was captured by the Spaniards and hung at Colmenar, near Toledo; though Ramusio states that, in a second voyage to America, he was captured by the savages, roasted and eaten. In the year 1870 the present writer accepted and published the story of his execution, as told in certain Spanish documents since published.

Amongst these documents is the affidavit of the officer who professed to have put Verrazano to death. It was nevertheless noticed that the language of the officer appeared needlessly positive. Of late, evidence has come to light which may yet be accepted as disproving the state-

ments of the Spanish official, who possibly deceived himself in supposing that Verrazano had been captured; or, what is still more likely, deceived others, and, while professing to have executed the Florentine, accepted the bribe which he declares was refused, and thus let him go. This subject, however, is one that must be left for future investigation.

Another member of the same Florentine family, a brother of Giovanni, was named Hieronimo. This person was the author of the Map which relates to Giovanni's Voyage.

The subject of Verrazano's Voyage being reserved for a separate chapter, let us at once proceed to the Letter which describes the Voyage.

The first known Post-Columbian description of the North Atlantic Coast is given by Verrazano in a Letter to Francis I., which has exercised a marked influence for more than three hundred years. Nevertheless the authenticity of this Letter has recently been questioned. The objection based upon an alleged absence of contemporaneous reference to the voyage might be dismissed with the simple observation, that the charge is unfounded. Still something will be said on this point. In this connection, it has been urged by the late Buckingham Smith, the first of the two writers who have criticised the letter adversely, that neither the Letter nor the Voyage is mentioned by Admiral Chabot in his letters of 1525. This, however, is not remarkable, since the voyage of Verrazano was undertaken before he entered upon his office, which was in 1526, while afterwards an expedition was sent out under his own administration, the expedition being led by Cartier, 1534. The latter was the expedition that he would naturally recognize, though there is no proof that he did *not* recognize that of Verrazano, with whom he was associated in a projected voyage to the Indies in 1526 or later.

Mr. Smith has asked, respecting the voyage, "if there were any fame of the sort, why should France choose to settle her population so far to the North, preferring the cold regions her fishermen were conceded to have found, to the milder climate, fertile vales, and inviting bays and water courses of New England and New York?" We have only to ask in reply, Why Spain proposed the colonization and fortification of the Straits of Magellan? The French supposed that the route to Cathay led through Canada. Frobisher advocated the same policy on the part of the English.

In this connection it should, however, be remembered that the archives of France, much less those of other countries, have not been searched faithfully, and, also, that the beginning of the sixteenth century

was an inopportune time for the publication of the results of maritime enterprise. The records of Dieppe suffered much in the bombardment of 1694, while the archives of La Rochelle were completely destroyed by fire. The sixteenth century opened gloomily with the confirmation of the claim of Spain to the entire North American Continent by Alexander VI., and the first quarter of the century was hardly completed when Francis I. found himself languishing in prison, whence he emerged only to find society in a state of confusion. Heylin, writing in 1669, well observes respecting the inattention to the voyage, that the people, "too much in love with the pleasures of France, or entangled in civil wars amongst themselves, looked no farther after it."

At the time Verrazano undertook his voyage, every movement connected with the French Marine was watched with a jealous eye. He was obliged to leave stealthily, and excuse his action by the statement that he had discovered a country never before seen by Europeans.

Only two Italian versions of the Letter of Verrazano are known to exist, one of these having been published by Ramusio, at Venice, in 1556, and the Carli version first mentioned in 1767, and published by the New York Historical Society in 1841. Ramusio does not say where he found his copy, but observes that it was the only one of Verrazano's letters to the King of France that he could procure, "because the others were destroyed during the sack of the poor city of Florence." The Carli version, which had been referred to in 1667, was found in the Magliabechian Library at Florence. It was introduced to the public in 1837 by Professor Greene, and printed in full in the year 1841. In his article in the *North American Review*, Professor Greene observed that he was struck by the difference of language in the two versions, though "in substance," the differences were not important. Nevertheless, finding that the Carli version contained more matter than that of Ramusio, he expressed the opinion, in passing, that the Italian Editor worked the piece over anew before placing it in his collection of Voyages; though he could not explain why Ramusio omitted the cosmographical part, if he knew of its existence. The suggestion that Ramusio worked the Letter over appears to have been made without due consideration. It has never been supported by any proof. Nevertheless the statements of Professor Greene have been seized upon to work out a theory in opposition to the authenticity of the Letter. If it were conceded that the Carli version furnished the text of Ramusio's, no discredit would be thrown upon the authenticity of the original. This was not intended by Professor Greene, who accepted the Letter, as describing a genuine voyage. But the objector improves

upon the supposition, by attempting to show that the Letter was a forgery, the weak points of which Ramusio was endeavoring to conceal. The charge against Ramusio, the Hakluyt of Italy, becomes a serious one, and demands notice here, both to vindicate his text, and to defend his memory. It is perfectly true that the two versions are not wholly alike. It is of no consequence whether they are alike or not. Still the existing differences may be explained readily when we remember that we are not dealing with originals. When they are referred to an original version, the difficulties, if any exist, at once vanish.

An illustration of this is found in connection with Allefonsce. Hakluyt, when translating Allefonsce, makes him say that figs grow in Canada, while another translation represents him as saying that Canada extends to the land of Figuier. Without the original to refer to, one might say that the latter was worked over from the former to conceal the ignorance of Allefonsce. Again, in the printed version of Allefonsce of 1559, it is said that certain people in New England, at Norumbega, are "small and blackish," while a recent translation declares that they are "large and handsome." Was the author of the latter version still "working over" the narrative of Allefonsce to conceal his ignorance, as Ramusio is alleged to have done with Verrazano's? Fortunately the original is now known, and the explanation is easy, though in the time of Lescarbot (1609) such was not the case, and Allefonsce was discredited. At the end of more than two centuries and a half, we find that the strictures of the witty Mark Lescarbot were undeserved, and possibly Verrazano and his Italian Editor may both be obliged to wait an equally long period for a full explanation. The prospect, however, need deter no one from attempting justice now.

The Letter of Carli, which accompanies the Magliabechian version, deserves independent consideration, as it contains internal evidence proving that it was written at the time and under the circumstances alleged. An attempt has indeed been made to treat it with ridicule; but, if it were the forgery of a late period, as the theory of the objector supposes, it must still be explained how the forger came to know the fact that Francis I. was daily expected at Lyons, upon the Fourth of August 1524. Moncado, with whom Carli served, knew of the movements of Francis (*Doc. Ineditos* XXIV. p. 403) and, curiously, Carli refers to Moncado in his letter. Since, therefore, these two persons were not in communication, it would appear that both obtained the information at the time.

In approaching the two versions of the Letter of Verrazano, the critic must bear in mind the fact that neither version proposes to be more than

a translation of a copy of a copy, the original not being found. The origin of the Carli version is explained by the letter referred to, written August 4th, 1524, at Lyons, by Fernando Carli, who says that, with his own, addressed to his father at Florence, he sends a copy of Verrazano's, describing the voyage, then just finished.

An attempt has also been made to prove that upon August 4th Carli could not have obtained a copy of a letter addressed to Francis I. in the beginning of July; but there is nothing in it. On the other hand, the notion that Ramusio created his version from Carli's is not supported by any argument. It is, in fact, an assumption that might be dismissed, for the reason that it is an assumption. But what is worse, it is opposed and refuted by all the literary testimony that is brought to bear upon this distinctly literary question. To this point, therefore, let us give our attention. The style of Ramusio's version is less rude than the Carli version, but mere improvement in style could not have been an object in this case. If it were true that Ramusio knew of the existence of the Carli version, with its cosmographical appendix and accompanying letter, he would have been guilty of falsehood in speaking of his copy alone as "this little that has reached us."

Some of the differences in the two versions have been noticed, and have been referred to as unimportant, which in a sense is true. Those that are to be pointed out for the first time are likewise unimportant in themselves. They become of consequence only when studied in connection with the assumption that the version of Ramusio was drawn from Carli's.

Amongst the variations already noted are the following: Ramusio's version, describing the natives, in latitude 34° N., says that they were "brownish and not much unlike Saracens," while Carli's version says, "black and not much different from Ethiopians." Again, with reference to the grapes referred to by Verrazano, Ramusio's version reads, "having often seen the fruit thereof dried, which was sweet and pleasant," the Carli version saying, "we have often seen the grapes which they produce, very sweet and pleasant," or, as another translation of the same version reads, "tasting the fruit many times, we perceived it was sweet and pleasant." Again the Ramusio version says, with reference to the northern extension of the voyage, "We approached the land that in times past was discovered by the Bretons, which is in fifty degrees," while the Carli version says that they reached the fiftieth degree, and that "beyond this point the Portuguese had already sailed as far north as the Arctic circle." That there is anything in the Carli version demand

ing change, is simply imagination; while a careful consideration of the Ramusio version shows that the ideas expressed are not essentially different from the former. There is, therefore, nothing here to indicate that Ramusio ever saw the Carli version. The color of the American Indians was well known; the term employed in the Carli version for tasting the grapes (*beendo*, sucking) was the one to be employed in tasting dried fruits; while, with respect to the extent of the Portuguese and French voyages, Carli says that the former *began* at 50° N., and Ramusio teaches, in substance, that the French reached that latitude. Let us, therefore, consider certain variations that are more to the point.

In the Ramusio version the reader will notice that the personal address to the King is used oftener than in that of Carli, and that the former is also different. Ramusio generally says, "your Majesty" (*Vostra Maesta*) and Carli, "your most serene and most Christian Majesty" (*Vostra serenissima et cristianissima Maesta*). In two cases the former's version varies from "your Majesty," by adding *Christianissima Re*, in parenthesis, or simply *Christianissimo*. In Ramusio the address occurs eleven times, and in the Carli version seven times; and since no reason can be assigned for such variations on the part of Ramusio, they cannot be attributed to him. The Venetian Secretary was a man with a purpose. Besides, these examples of the excessive use of terms occur in the early portion of the Letter, while farther on, where literary taste or courtesy might suggest the interpolation of "your Majesty," the address is *wanting*. This is something that Ramusio would have noticed, since, according to the objector, he even changed the version of Carli from *Vostra clarissima genitrice* to *costra Serenissima Madre*. Here, however, if Ramusio had been engaged in revising the text, we might reasonably expect the courtly Venetian Secretary, trained as he was in the careful use of forms, to have said your *Majesty's* illustrious mother.

This was so clear to Dr. Cogswell, that in translating he supplied the term omitted by both of the clumsy versions, and he writes "your Majesty's illustrious mother." (N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 46, C. 19.) In another place he reduces the verbiage of "your most serene and Christian Majesty," to "your Majesty." But in these cases he is *translating*, not *revising*, and he gives the original for comparison. In translating from Ramusio, Hakluyt, by mistake, once introduces "your Majesty" where it does not belong. The variations in the two texts under consideration are, therefore, the works either of Verrazano himself or his translators and copyists.

Again Carli's version says, "we set sail from a desert rock," while Ramusio reads, "by the grace of God we set sail." The former says that there was a certain depth of water "without flux or reflux," (*Senza flusso e refluxo*) which is good enough Tuscan, while the latter says, "without flux" (*senza flusso*). These variations are trifling in themselves, but they are of a character which forbids us to refer them to the Venetian. Likewise, Carli says that the woods in America are not like "the rough wilds of Scythia," while Ramusio says, "the wild deserts of Tartary." Again, in speaking of the resemblance of a part of the American coast to the shores of the Adriatic, the Carli version reads, "the Adriatic gulf near Illyria and Dalmatia," while the Ramusio version says "Sclavonia and Dalmatia." "Scythia was included in Tartary, and Illyria was inhabited by Sclavonians, who were widely distributed. The terms employed are such as might properly be used by two translators, while those of Ramusio are manifestly not the terms that would have been substituted by a critic engaged in making improvements.

Carli says, referring to Verrazano's preliminary expedition, "we made a cruise in them [the ships] well armed along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty must have heard," while Ramusio reads, "we took our course along the coast of Spain, as your Majesty shall understand by the profit we received thereby."² Sound criticism will not refer these changes to Ramusio.

It is also to be noticed that Carli's version says of the voyage, that the first twenty-five days Verrazano sailed in a westerly direction, making eight hundred leagues, while Ramusio says five hundred leagues. Then the former says a storm came February 24th, while the latter says the 20th. After the storm, Carli's version says that they ran four hundred leagues in twenty-four days, while Ramusio's says twenty-five. In speaking of the distance run upon the American coast, Carli's version reads, "seven hundred" leagues, while Ramusio's reads, "seven hundred or more." At the same time the courses given by the latter foot up only six hundred and sixty-five. Again, Carli's version, speaking of the wind during the first course sailed westward, the following language is used: "Sailing westward with a light and pleasant easterly breeze," (*per seffiro spirando subsolano con dolce e soave levita*), while Ramusio's says: "Sailing westward with a fair easterly wind," (*per Ponente navigando con vento di Levante assai piacevole*.) All this is attributed to a scholar and critic improving the version!

But we have not done with these variations, for the Carli version, after describing the natives seen at their first landing in latitude 34° N.,

says, "We found not far from these people another whose mode of life we judge to be similar." The version of Ramusio adds to this, "as hereafter I will declare to your Majesty, showing now the situation and nature of the aforesaid land." If Ramusio worked over the Carli version to produce his own, he must have interpolated this sentence. And if so, why? If any changes were made, they were designed to render the sense clearer, or to remove objections. But this addition does neither. The latter limb of the sentence is superfluous, while at the same time, it refers to nothing found in either the Letter or Appendix, and on the whole, obscures the text. It might indeed be said that the phrase indicated an intention to write an additional Letter, but it is more reasonable, however, to understand him as intending to describe the "other people" in their proper place in the present communication. In that case, the explanation of the omission to do so is simple. At the end of the voyage Verrazano wrote to the King, *currente calamo*, depending in this general account more or less upon recollection. When he came to speak of the people first seen, by the law of association, they suggested a similar people not far distant; but, as the description of the country occupied by the former demanded the first place, he proceeded to his work in regular order, simply observing that hereafter he would describe the second people. In the end, however the subject was forgotten, or else he changed his mind. To say that the unkept promise was interpolated by Ramusio is idle. Here is found a mental action that could scarcely happen in the case of a forger constructing an imaginary narrative. It is one of those internal evidences that stamp the Letter as genuine; for it was written out of a mind overflowing with information. There is no halting or forced action, but a multitude of facts are pressing up for statement at the same time. A similar peculiarity is shown further on, by an example that occurs in *both* versions, where the writer, speaking of the temperature being colder than in Rome, says that it is accidental, "as I will hereafter declare to your Majesty," a promise also not kept. This double omission alone proves that the two versions must be referred to a *third*. We say again, therefore, that the peculiar action of the writer's mind indicates the authentic character of the composition; while a candid consideration of all the variations renders it impossible to suppose that the version of Ramusio was worked over from Carli's. This and the kindred assumption, that the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was changed to agree with the Florentine's, fall together. The charge of dishonesty on the part of Ramusio has no foundation whatsoever in fact.

Where, then, it will be asked, did Ramusio obtain his version? This is a question with which we need not consider, yet as a matter of interest we may show that it was derived originally from the French. On this point we have the testimony of Pinello, who, writing in 1629, speaks of the Relation of Verrazano, detailing what he "discovered north of Florida." This Relation, it is distinctly said, was *in French*, and he supposes that it was translated by Ramusio into Italian.³ It is also stated that a Spanish translation by one Taxandra existed.⁴ Pinello was a Peruvian, who went to Spain expressly to pursue historical and bibliographical studies, in which he was eminently successful. In recognition of his services he was made honorary Judge of the Admiralty at Seville. He wrote more than two centuries and a half ago, and must be credited with a knowledge of the subject. It is apparent that he had information respecting Verrazano that is not accessible now, and when he says that the French version was the basis of that given by Ramusio the statement may be accepted. Alcedo, a Spanish author, vouched for by Mr. Smith as of "good repute," also refers to a French version of the Letter in his MS. *Biblioteca Americana*, now in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, "escrita en Diepa en frances á 8 de julio, de 1524;" in connection with which Mr. Smith admits that if the original Letter was written in French, it would account for the marked difference in style and language of the two translations into Italian.

From the testimony of these writers, as well as from the very nature of the case, it follows that a version of Verrazano's Letter existed in French, independent of the abstracts given by French compilers. To deny the statement of Pinello, would be to assume a superior knowledge. Assumption, however, will not avail, and the testimony of this remote and unprejudiced writer will stand. The version referred to must have been obtained at an early period by the Spanish spies and agents who, as is well known, infested all the ports of France at the period when the voyage was made. This version probably exists to-day at Seville. The Spaniards kept themselves informed respecting Verrazano. Martyr calls attention to his piracies⁵ and Gomera mentions his exploits in 1553.⁶ A quarter of a century before Pinello's work appeared, Herrera made an abstract of the Voyage of Verrazano, evidently from the French version of the former.⁷

The Letter of Verrazano, after its publication in 1556, was not referred to, in any printed work now known until 1563, when Hakluyt (*Divers Voyages* p. 91) translated Ribault's voyage to Florida, written the year before. Ribault possessed some account of Verrazano's Voyage, though

his statements differ slightly from Ramusio's. If any inference is made, it must be that Ribault possessed a French version, and not the Italian of Ramusio. Ribault was born at Dieppe, a rendezvous of Verrazano, who is described as "of Normandy" as well as "of Rochella." In his younger days he was doubtless familiar with the form of the well known Florentine Navigator, as he went and came amongst the sailors and citizens of this ancient town, and was acquainted with his exploits.

Next is Laudoniere, 1566, who, in speaking of the Navigator, contradicts both Ramusio and the Dieppe Captain of 1539; the former with respect to the latitude reached at the South, and the latter where he says that the Portuguese call the New World "La Francese," Laudoniere calling it "Terra Francisca." The latter variation is simply verbal, yet as slight as it may be it is the only indication at hand. Whatever it may be worth, it does *not* prove that he drew his account from the Italian. It has been said that Laudoniere makes the same mistake as the Dieppe Captain in associating Louise, the Regent, with the voyage. But in fact neither errs. The title of Regent is recognized as a title that belonged to her. There is nothing whatever to indicate that the title belonged to her in 1524, or that, *as Regent*, Louise had anything to do with the voyage. The reference to the Letter in Belleforest (1570 p. 75) and Lescarbot (1609) are consonant with the version of Ramusio. This, however, supports the statement of Pinello, that Ramusio translated from the French. Belleforest certainly did not get from Ramusio the statement made in 1570 that Verrazano died in 1524; or the fact that the Island called Claudia was properly "*Loise*." If it be said that the original French has disappeared, the same is true of the discourse of the Dieppe Captain, besides Ribault's Journal and many other documents.

But let us inquire if there appears to be any other testimony hitherto overlooked which indicates a French version of the Letter. Something of this kind possibly exists in the *Cosmographic* of Jehan Allefonsce, the Pilot of Roberval in 1542.

The treatise of Allefonsce was finished November 24th, 1545, or two years before the death of Frances I., to whom it was dedicated. Allefonsce himself died before it was completed, and the task was finished by his friend, Raulin Secalart, as was attested at the time. In this *Cosmographic*, so-called, there are certain indications showing the possible influence of Verrazano. Something of the kind might be expected, from the fact that Allefonsce followed the sea twenty years before, and as many after, the voyage of Verrazano. He probably knew all of the navigators

and privateersmen of France who were worth knowing. Besides, he shows the influence of the Verrazano Map in his own sketches, his Bay of the Isles being the same as the Florentine's Bay of Refuge, a fact to be pointed out in connection with the map illustrating Verrazano's Voyage. That Allefonsce knew Verrazano will hardly be denied, though instead of Verrazano, he once mentions Cartier, his work being simply sailing directions "by the aid of which pilots may find unknown countries." Indeed, Allefonsce does not even mention his *own* voyage to Canada as the Pilot of Roberval. In what way, then, does he indicate his acquaintance with Verrazano? This is accomplished, if at all, by what is possibly a plagiarism. Allefonsce was neither an original nor a skillful writer, and, therefore, finding some descriptions in the Letter of Verrazano that served his purpose, it is possible that he used them with such variations and additions as circumstances required. This was the case with Gosnold's scribes in 1602, though the fact exhibited by the present writer in the New England Historical Genealogical Register (January 1873) had never before been pointed out. Gosnold and his collaborators, however, had Hakluyt's English translation of Verrazano and wrote in English. On the other hand, the French version probably used by Allefonsce is wanting, and we are not able to place the French of the two writers side by side. Hence the *verbal* resemblances, so noticeable in Gosnold and other English plagiarists of the Florentine are lost. But the identity of ideas remain. In compiling his account of the new found world, Allefonsce desired to make the most of his subject, and at one point he turns from the north to take a general survey of the country. In doing this he defines the boundaries, saying that Hochelaga, included in the Patent of 1542, extended south-west as far as Figuier, thus including the entire region visited by Verrazano. Then he seems to turn to the Letter, and to use the general account of the country, seeking to combine in one glowing picture the attractions found from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. Here he transposes the order observed by Verrazano in two or three instances. In the narrative of Allefonsce the forests are described *after* mentioning the situation of the country, while the subject of gold is put *before* it. Allefonsce makes an extravagant allusion to the gold of Cibola, because at the time he wrote the fabulous wealth of that region was exciting all minds.

After readjusting these two topics, the rest stand almost parallel with the order observed by Verrazano. Supposing this done, it may be noted, first, that the Florentine says that the "East" stretches around this country, while Allefonsce thinks that this is "the utmost bounds of Asia." The latter says that these countries "border on Tartary," while Verra-

zano, in Ramusio's version, speaks of "the wild deserts of Tartary," and both remark upon the productions of the East, the one speaking of "medicinal" and "aromatic drugs," and the other of the medicinal quality of the trees. Next they agree that the forests are both vast and various, and that the country is gold bearing, the Florentine putting the gold in or near latitude 34° N., and Allefonsce in 35° N., or the parallel of Cibola. Afterwards both writers mention quadrupeds and birds in *immediate connection*, closing up that topic in a similar way, Verrazano saying "many other similar [beasts] and with a great variety of birds for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport," Allefonsce adding to his account, "various other sorts of birds and beasts." The succeeding topic is the *water supply*, and this opens the way to speak of the *climate*, of which Allefonsce cannot give so good an account as Verrazano, being obliged to generalize in speaking of the North and South at the same time. Then follow the *winds* and the *rain* and the disposition made by nature of the general *humidity*. Verrazano says the prevalent winds of Summer are north-west, with a clear sky and "but little rain," while Allefonsce agrees that the west wind "brings no rain." Even in treating the topic which might perhaps appear the least promising of all, Allefonsce seems to be holding on to the thought of the Florentine, which here concerns the disposition that nature makes of the moisture in the atmosphere. On reaching this point he realizes that he is in a high northern region, and must come directly to the point, not discussing "all these regions." Therefore, instead of saying with Verrazano, who was speaking of summer skies, that the sun dissipated the moisture, he tells his reader in substance, that the moisture, which is so dense as to be styled rain, is frozen in the winter time, and falls to the earth in the form of snow. Here he reaches the end of his list of subjects; but still he has not finished, having failed to do justice to the *forests*, which Verrazano dwells upon with delight. Casting his eye over his manuscript, he seems to perceive a deficiency, and adds after his account of the snow, "there are also forests as beautiful as ever you could possibly see any where in the world;" which done he goes on with a description of the creatures that were found in the Canadian Sea, coloring his narrative by the aid of the second voyage of Cartier.

Let the reader study these two accounts side by side, and he will perhaps find that the coincidences are too striking to admit the suggestion that they are the result of accident. Verrazano, apparently, was known to Allefonsce. He used the order as a matter of convenience, endeavoring at the same time to warm the climate of Canada by associating it with the entire country from the South. For the convenience of



MARCELLO II. CERVINI
ORIGINARIO DI MONTE
SENESE, SOGGETTO DI
DOTTRINA, E



SOMMO PONTEFICE
PULCIANO, E NOBILE
SOMMA PRUDENZA,
BONTÀ FREGIATO.

Nacque il dì 6. Maggio MDI.

mori dopo 22. giorni di Pontefice

ficato nel dì pmo. Maggio MDLV.

Dedicato al merito Singolare dell' Illmo; è Rmo: Monsignore Alessandro De Conti Cerrini Patrizio Senese, Conte del Viro Arcivescovo di Siena & Agnato del Sud. Pontefice.

Prelo da un Quadro esistente presso yll' Illmi. Sigg. Conti Cerrini di Siena.
fuor. V. Gualteri, del. e scul.



the reader the language of the two writers has been given in parallel columns, the chief points being italicised. An extract from Barlow's description of North Carolina in 1584 is also inserted, to show that he drew on Verrazano in a similar manner, though "Master Winter" gets the credit. A detached extract of Verrazano's Letter is added to throw light upon the remark of Allefonsce concerning La Rochelle, which appears to have been suggested by Verrazano's remark about the parallel of Rome.

VERRAZANO

Ascending farther, we found several arms of the Sea which make through inlets, washing the shore on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, *covered with immense forests of trees* more or less dense, too *various* in colors and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. I do not believe that these are like the *Hercynian* forest or the rough wilds of *Scythia* [Tartary] and the *northern regions* full of vines and common trees, but adorned with palms, laurels, cypresses and other *varieties unknown in Europe*, that send fourth sweetest fragrance to a great distance, but which we could not examine more closely for the reason before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, in this country are easily penetrated.

As the "East" stretches around this country, I think it cannot be void of the same medicinal and aromatic drugs and various riches of *gold and the like*, as denoted by the color of the ground. It abounds also in *animals*, as *deer, stags, hares* and many other similar, and with a great variety of *birds* for every kind of pleasant and delightful sport; It is plentifully supplied with *lakes and ponds* of running water; and being in *latitude*

BARLOW

This island hath many goodly woods full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, rove in the midst of summers in incredible abundance. The woods are not such as you find in *Bohemia*, *Moscovia*, or *Hercynia*, barren and fruitless, but the highest and reddest cedars in the world, far bettering the Cedars of the Azores, of the Indies or Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or tree that beareth the Masticke, the tree that beareth the rine of blacke Sinnamon, of which Master Winter brought from the streights of Magellan, and many others of excellent smell and qualitie. [Hak. III. p. 246.]

ALLEFONSCÉ

It is said that the inhabitants of the country pretend that in a country called Cibola, in *latitude 35 N.*, all the houses are covered with *gold and Silver*, and they use nothing but *gold and Silver* vessels. *These countries border on Tartary*, and I think this is the utmost bounds of *Asia*, (according to the Sphericity of the globe, and therefore I think it would be well to have a small vessel of about seventy tons burden, with a view to explore the coast of Florida. I have myself been in a bay as high up as 42° between Norumbega and Florida without finding the bottom, and I do not know whether it extends any farther.) In all

34° the air is salubrious, pure and temperate, and free from extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions, the most prevalent are the *north-west and west*. In the Summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear with *but little rain*. If *fogs and mists* are at any time driven in by the south winds, they are instantly *dissipated*, and at once it becomes bright again.

* * * *

This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being in 41° 40' of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances and not by nature.

these regions there are great *quantities of timber* of various kinds, such as oaks, ash, cedar, cypress, dwarf holly and arbor vita, which are of *Medicinal quality*. They have some timber almost as white as snow, and common pine, of which they make Ship's masts, aspen trees, birch resembling cherry tree, also very large cedars, hickory and small nut trees. There have also been found red plums resembling what are call Coubrejean. There are also large wild peas, as well as gooseberries and strawberries. Moreover you find many *wild animals* such as *deer, roe bucks*, porcupines, bustards, cranes, wild geese, owls, turtle doves, crows, ravens, and *various other sorts of birds and beasts*. (Small snakes are also found such as you may see in France. And the Savages say that unicorns are also found. Whatever is sown here requires but two or three days to spring up. So well does grain thrive here, that have myself counted twenty-six Kernels in a Single year of the same sort which Jacques Cartier has sown. So rich is the ground that if you sow in March your crop will be ripe in the middle of August. The *water* is much better here than in France, and my impression is that if the land were worked as as it should be and thickly settled, it would be quite as *warm as at La Rochelle*. The frequent *snows* that fall here, are owing to the fact that when it rains the rain is speedily *turned into snow*. *Rain* does not occur here except with the *East wind*; the west wind brings *no rain*. With the north wind there comes abundance of snow: From November to February it snows constantly and so hard that the snow is often six feet deep. There are also forests as beautiful as you. could possibly see any where in the world.

Such is this curious piece of testimony from the *Cosmographic* of Allefonsce; the reader will judge of its worth. Beyond question it is worthy of consideration; for though the extracts given contain two or three sentences not strictly connected with the subject, the thread of thought is identical with that of the Florentine.⁸ It therefore appears reasonable to suppose that Verrazano's Letter existed in the French language in France twelve years before its publication by Ramusio; since it cannot be said that Verrazano plagiarised the narrative of Allefonsce, or that both made use of a third writer to us unknown.

By a curious coincidence, Hakluyt, in borrowing from Verrazano to illustrate his Discourse on "Western Planting," (Maine Coll. s. 2. vol. II., p. 22) uses substantially the same portions supposed to have been used by Allefonsce for the same purpose. Many instances of similarity in description could be given, since in describing the productions and characteristic of a country, writers are inclined to follow the order of topics often pursued in connection with natural history, yet such a reference of this example would not prove satisfactory. Buckingham Smith in his Inquiry (p. 7) summarises the passages supposed to have been used by Allefonsce; while so striking are the descriptions that in the Mercator of Hondius (Amsterdam 1611) we find them taken at second hand from Barlow, whose plagiarism has already been quoted. The work in question says (p. 371) "Mais elles ne sont comme in Boheme, Moscovie, ny Hyrcanie chauves et steriles," &c. There is, therefore, something in the Letter of Verrazano that various writers have very naturally laid hold upon, which may have been the case with Allefonsce. Whatever view the reader may take of this part of the discussion, the main argument remains; for it is demonstrated, apart from the constructive argument concerning Allefonsce, that the two known versions of Verrazano must be referred to an earlier version as their common source, and that the Letter was known in France at the time of Francis I. That Cartier should be mentioned by Allefonsce may appear to be opposed to the argument; yet the most painstaking examination will not afford any proof of that Cartier furnished his description.

The probability that the Letter of Verrazano was known to Allefonsce is strengthened by the fact that another French writer of that period makes a distinct reference to the voyage of the Florentine. This is the author of what is called, "the Discourse of a great Sea-Captain, a Frenchman of the town Dieppe," written in 1539, and published by Ramusio in 1556, in the same work that contains the Letter of Verrazano. This Discourse gives a general description of the North American Continent, and

says, "following beyond the Cape of Bretons there is a land contiguous to the said cape, the coast whereof extends west by south-west as far as the land of Florida, and it runs full 500 leagues, which coast was discovered fifteen years ago, by Messer Giovanni du Verrazano in the name of King Francis and Madame the Regent, and this land is called by many la Francese." This Discourse was written by some one in the Expedition of Parmentier to Sumatra, 1529, and its authenticity has never been questioned. The original, like that of the Verrazano Letter, has disappeared, and though possibly traces of it may yet be found in Spain, where the French copy of Verrazano's Letter existed, probably having been drawn from France during the life time of Francis I. To repeat the charge that the reference to the Letter of Verrazano in the Discourse of the Dieppe Captain was interpolated by Ramusio can not be tolerated, since the whole theory of interpolation has been destroyed, by the demonstration of the fact that the version of the Verrazano Letter given by Ramusio was not and could not have been worked over from the version of Carli. There being no evidence therefore to the contrary, the recognition of Verrazano by the Dieppe Captain in 1539 must stand.

In a subsequent chapter it will be demonstrated that the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano, made in 1529, is alone capable of proving that the Letter of Giovanni existed prior to that date, and that the Map was based upon the descriptions of the Letter. It will thus appear that the theory that this Letter was the forgery of a later period, or about the year 1540, and intended to flatter the civic pride of Florence, will not hold. It shuts up the mind to insuperable objections, and makes too great a claim upon our faith. It requires us to believe that the forgers undertook their work while Francis I. was still alive; that no precautions were taken to prevent its publication in 1556, when the seaports were full of men who could have denied the claim had it been false; it is to suppose that untravelled Florentines possessed exact knowledge of the condition of New England; it is to suppose that Ramusio, the learned Secretary of the Venetian Council, conspired, independently of the original movers, to aid the deception and flatter the pride of a rival city; and that the Florentines deliberately selected one for their hero who, according to the objector's theory, perished infamously upon the gallows, or else that they adopted his name without investigating his history and ultimate fate. It is easier to believe in the authenticity of the Letter of Verrazano.

¹ The Slavonians were spread far and wide, but the *true* country of Slavonia formed a part of Hungary then as now. It is depicted on Verrazano's map, and is not represented as extending to the coast. Illyria was called Slavonia, only because occupied by a Slav population.

² It is remarkable that Hakluyt, in his first translation of Verrazano's letter (1582), accidentally omitted the clause that is omitted by Carli, "by the profit we received thereby," yet it is imagined that this could not possibly be an omission by Carli, but that it *must* be an interpolation of Ramusio's! That Ramusio interpolated the language "by the profit we receive thereby," with reference to the ships from Mexico, is indefensible, since it is absurd to suppose that at the late period of July 8, 1524, Verrazano would attempt to convey any obscure information respecting an event that was notorious in both France and Spain. In the cruise referred to he had only two ships, while in capturing the treasure ships he had six. The cruise on the coast of Spain was simply an episode in the voyage begun with four ships expressly to explore, and which was finally prosecuted with one.

³ In the "Epitome de la Biblioteca Oriental i Occidental Nautica i Geografica," by Antonio de Leon Pinello, Madrid, 1627, p. 79, are the following entries:

"IVAN VERRAZANO. Relacion de lo que descubrio al Septemtrion de la Floride, en Fracès."

"IVAN BAPTISTA RAMUSIO la traduxo i la imprimio en tomo 3."

⁴ "IVAN VERRAZANO. Descripcion del nuevo Orbe, segun Taxandra." "Epitome," p. 171. The edition of 1738, T. II. p. 620, states, in addition, that Lescarbot followed Ramusio, "esta resumida en Marco Lescarbot." In this edition the editor departs from the primitive orthography of the Florentine's name, which Pinello gives correctly. That the French and Spanish versions existed a considerable time prior to 1627 is evident from the fact that Herrera (Dec. III, L. VI. C. IX.) gave an abstract of Verrazano's Letter. That Herrera translated from Ramusio there is no proof. The Letter was evidently well known in Spain. Alcedo, in his unpublished *Biblioteca Americana*, which has a brief notice of the life of Verrazano, gives of his writings: "Relacion des descubrimiento que hizo al Septemtrion de la Florida en nombre de S. M. Cristianisima: Escrita en Diepa en Frances a 8 de Julio, de 1524. *Idem*—Traducida en Italiano en la Colecion de Ramusio." From the MS. (Carter-Brown Library,) Vol. II., p. 890.

⁵ Epis. 774. Ed. 1530. Dated Nov. 10, 1522.

⁶ "La Conquista" de 1553, fol. LXXXVII. See in these connections M. Brevoort's "Verrazano," &c.

⁷ Dec. III., L. iii. C. IX.

⁸ The General account of the country by Verrazano includes *eleven* points, *all* of which are used by Allefonsce, who amplified the most of them and reduces others, after expressing the same minute shades of thought. The identity of the two descriptions will appear the more clearly by changing the *gold* mentioned by Verrazano from the *fourth* to the *first* place, noting here that both writers place the gold in practically the *same parallel*. The order thus observed by each writer will be as here indicated; topics 2, 3, 4, and 9, 10, 11 being closely associated with another.

VERRAZANO

1. Gold.
2. Forest (varied).
3. The "East" (Asia).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Winds.
10. Rains.
11. General humidity (moisture dissipated by the sun).

ALLEFONSCÉ.

1. Gold.
2. Asia (the East).
3. Forest (varied).
4. Medicinal qualities.
5. Animals (varied).
6. Birds (varied).
7. The water supply.
8. The temperature.
9. Rains.
10. Winds.
11. General humidity (moisture changed to snow).

THE VOYAGE OF VERRAZANO

THE previous chapter was occupied chiefly in considering the text of Verrazano's Letter. The present will be devoted to the Voyage which the Letter describes. It may be necessary, however, at the outset to notice a theory, to which attention was called¹ sometime since in a review not specially devoted to historical questions.

The theory in question supposes that the voyage of Verrazano was never made, but was framed out of the map of Ribero, 1529, by some Florentine forger. This theory may be stated briefly as follows: The Carli version of the letter makes the total extent of Verrazano's exploration upon the American coast 700 leagues, a distance included between a point 50 leagues south of latitude 34° N. and 50° N., embracing nine courses, stated in round numbers as 50, 50, 100, 80, 15, 150, 50, 50, 150 leagues. Then, repairing to Ribero's map, the author of this theory, by a system of measurements, endeavors to make it appear that the divisions between the corresponding points, 34° N. and 50° N., amount to the same sum, less only five leagues, and declares that the courses sailed according to the Letter agree with the latitudes and courses on Ribero's map. In a refutation of this theory, Mr. Major, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, curtly observes: "As a matter of fact, we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map;" which is perfectly true, and the assumed divisions might be left to take care of themselves. The attention of the reader may nevertheless be directed to certain facts, as, for instance, to the fact that while the Carli version gives the length of the fourth course as 80 leagues, Ramusio makes it only 50. The latter also declares that the distance run was *more* than 700 leagues, while the total of his figures is only 670. But the integrity of such a computation depends not alone upon the correctness of the measurements. There must be the employment of all the factors. In this case, however, a crucial point in the discussion is omitted. Reference is here made to the fact that a third latitude given by the Letter

is not mentioned at all, though this is the latitude especially to be relied upon, as it purports to have been fixed during a stay of two weeks. Respecting the two extreme points of the voyage, 34° N. and 50° N., which the late Buckingham Smith supposes, properly enough, "to have been guessed at rather than ascertained," no question is raised, but the middle and exact latitude, $41^{\circ} 40'$ N., which must be the middle term in any attempt to deduce the Letter from Ribero, is suppressed. To illustrate this point, a sketch is given from the Ribero map, which was based upon the Voyage of Gomez, accompanied by one from the map of Verrazano. Upon the Ribero map is seen indicated the course of what the theory under consideration holds as a fancied voyage reduced to the form of a Letter after a study of the map. In connection with this course the latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ N. is not given, only the two extreme latitudes appearing. This middle latitude, however, has been marked by the present writer, and a glance shows that all is solid land west of that point. Yet the Letter declares that latitude to have been reached by sailing from west to east. Thus a true comparison of the Letter with the Ribero map proves that the Voyage was *not* deduced from the map, as the Voyage according to the map was simply an impossibility. What is more, if the author of the Letter knew of Ribero's map at all, he discredited it as worthless. For convenience, the two sketches have been given upon the same sheet. The nine courses sailed by Verrazano are indicated on the Ribero map by dotted lines. By a careful measurement it will be found that the fifth course, instead of ending where it would if the theory were correct, that is, in $41^{\circ} 40'$, terminates near the beginning of parallel 44° . If the courses described in the Letter had been deduced from Ribero's map, the port of Verrazano, or Bay of Refuge, would have been sought near the Bay St. Antonio.

Glancing, however, at the Verrazano sketch which accompanies that from Ribero, it will be seen that no such contradiction appears. It is true that the latitudes of Verrazano are incorrect, which is also true of Ribero, though in a lesser degree. By some misunderstanding Hieronimo placed the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, and the error extends up the coast, not being fully eliminated before reaching the latitude of Greenland. This particular feature of the Verrazano Map, however, will be spoken of more fully in the concluding chapter. It will be necessary here simply to point out the fact that the coast is quite distinctly delineated by Verrazano, and that the point laid down in the Letter as in latitude $41^{\circ} 40'$ east of Block Island, or the Island of Luisa, may be reached, as Verrazano states, by sailing from west to east.

The Harbor of Giovanni da Verrazano, in $41^{\circ} 40'$, is marked in the map of Hieronimo as the Gulf of Refuge (*G. del Refugio*). The Letter, therefore, deliberately rejects the Ribero map and agrees with that of Verrazano. And why? It was simply because the Letter was written from an exact knowledge of the coast, such as Ribero did not possess; for while the Italian map shows the coast with tolerable plainness, from Sandy Hook to Cape Cod and the neighboring shoals, the Spanish map shows no knowledge of the existence of Cape Cod, but exaggerates Sandy Hook so enormously that many have fancied that the Hook was intended to represent the Cape. Notwithstanding the comparative rudeness of Verrazano's outline, it required nearly a century to improve upon it. It is this outline that is indicated in both Map and Letter, by adhering to which, and by rejecting Ribero, both Letter and Map earn the right to be considered authentic. If the true character of the Verrazano Map had been understood and pointed out earlier, the adverse theory under review never would have had existence.

Thus, by the simple method indicated, the assumed divisions of the Ribero Map are broken up and dissipated. Besides, it may be remembered, a forger, who was so exact as to ascertain the fact that during the period occupied by the alleged voyage no lunar eclipse took place, would not be so dull as to blunder and miscalculate a simple latitude with the Map before him; much less would he give the latitude with such particularity. Nor is it likely that a forger, engaged in framing a voyage out of the Map, would say that the country was *rich* in gold, while the Map says that it is *poor*. Again, he would not be so bold as to give an island of the size of Rhodes where Ribero indicates nothing of the kind, nor would he place the archipelagoes where Ribero has placed none at all. This theory is therefore, based upon a misconception of facts, and cannot be entertained. Besides, as will be shown elsewhere, the influence which Ribero has been supposed to have in Italy never existed, while Ribero was repudiated by his fellow countryman, Oviedo, in 1534. In this connection it may be proper to give the text of Major's remarks, though the Letter does not tally with both Maps. He says:

"As a matter of fact we find no such 'divisions' on Ribero's map; but since the contour of the country is the same on both maps, it is obvious that if the courses and distances in the Verrazano letter tally, as Mr. Murphy says they do, with the Gomez [Ribero] map, they will do so also with the Verrazano map, which is exactly what we should have a right to expect; and it is equally clear that we must look for evidence outside of the maps to trace the source whence their cognate geography is derived. And what do we find? That, whereas we do

possess a lengthy narrative, full of minute detail, of Verrazzano's voyage, which could bear the minute examination of Dr. Kohl by the light of our knowledge of to-day, and which it would be simply absurd to suppose to be constructed on the mere skeleton basis of a map, the following is the learned Doctor's comment on the Gomez voyage: 'We are unable to designate the track which Gomez followed on the ocean. No kind of ship-journal or report, written either by himself or any of his companions, has been preserved; and the Spanish historians Oviedo, Herrera and Gomara, who may have seen such a journal, are extremely brief in their accounts of this expedition, although it had a particular interest for Spain, being the only official expedition sent out by that country to the northern parts of our eastern coast.' In short, the Verrazzano letter contains details which could not have been gleaned from any previously existing accounts or maps. We must therefore differ from Mr. Murphy, not only as to the fraudulent fabrication of Carli's letter, but also as to the statement that without it Verrazzano's letter would fall through."

Let us now proceed to examine the Voyage of Verrazano. According to Ribault, Verrazano originally sailed from Dieppe, though considerable time appears to have elapsed before he was able to carry out his original intention respecting a voyage to Cathay. This undertaking was projected in 1523. Andrade (*Chronica de Muyto alto, Lisbon, 1613*) says that the Portuguese King was informed by some of his merchants residing in France, that Verrazano had offered his services to Francis I., nominally for a voyage to the Indies by a new route, but really for the purpose of plundering Brazil. The Portuguese Ambassador accordingly remonstrated with Francis, but as the latter had just contracted to marry his son to the daughter of the King of Portugal, it is not reasonable to suppose that the object of Verrazano's expedition was the plunder of the Portuguese possessions. Francis simply replied that with respect to the fleet he would arrange all to the satisfaction of his royal brother. April 25, 1523, Silveira, the Portuguese Ambassador, wrote to his master: "By what I hear, Maestro Joas Verrazano, *who is going on the discovery of Cathay*, has not left up to date for want of opportunity, and because of differences, I understand, between himself and men. . . . I shall continue to doubt unless he takes his departure." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 163.) That he left there can be no doubt. About the time Andrada wrote, there were, according to Pinello, two versions of Verrazano's narrative accessible in Spain. Escaping from the embargo laid for the time by Spanish spies, the fleet of four ships went to sea. Being overtaken by a storm, Verrazano was obliged to enter a Breton port with the "Normanda" and "Dalfina," two others

apparently being lost. After making repairs he sailed to the Spanish coast, and eventually departed upon his discovery with the "Dalfina," the Captain of the other ship leaving Verrazano to go alone. This was doubtless the final result of the quarrels between Verrazano and his men reported by Silveira. The affair appears to be alluded to by Carli where he says: "Brunelleschi, who went with him, and unfortunately turned back, unwilling to follow him farther, when he hears of it [the voyage], will not be well pleased." In this curious and unexpected manner does the concurrent testimony of widely separated writers attest the authenticity of the voyage.

January 17th, 1524, Verrazano sailed from a barren rock southeast of Madeira, though Carli says, "at the end of January last he went from the *Canary* Islands in search of new countries," an error which may be accepted among other things as an indication that the Carli Letter did not proceed from the same hand that penned the narrative of the voyage. Verrazano steered westward until February 24th, when he met a "hurricane, and afterwards veered more to the north." March 7th he saw land "never before been seen by any one either in ancient or modern times," which he readily fancied to be the case, as he wished for an excuse for entering upon Spanish ground. Here a significant fact may be pointed out, namely, that in crossing the ocean he took a direct course. In 1562 Ribault was proud of a similar achievement. The custom for a long time afterward was to sail to Newfoundland and coast southward, or the West Indies and thence northward. Verrazano was on forbidden ground, and as a well-known agent of France his life was sought wherever the Spanish flag was unfurled. He therefore took a direct course, holding towards the west amidst sunshine and storm, until the shores of the new continent rose above the waves. This is something that would not have occurred to Italian forgers, or if the bold conception *had* entered their minds, they would not have allowed the fancied achievement to be stated by Carli without applause. Rhetoric would have been summoned to tell the story of a second Columbus. Verrazano ran down the coast fifty leagues without finding a suitable harbor. He probably made this exploration for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the land seen was connected with Florida, the existence of which country was known to all the world. In this unstudied statement is found the work of an honest and intelligent explorer, who would make it certain that his own line of observation began far enough south to avoid missing any opening to India in the unexplored region represented conjecturally in the Ptolemy of 1513. Returning north-

ward, he landed and met the natives. The landfall is placed in 34° N., near Charleston. Evidently the calculation was a rough one. The land "stretched to the south," which is true, though the coast trends southwest. In this and similar statements there is no effort made to be perfectly exact. All the distances are given on the decimal system, showing that they were rough estimates, not indeed of the length of straight lines from point to point, but approximate estimates of distances sailed while coasting between given points. The country is distinctly described as it appears to-day—the shore bordered with low sand-hills, the sea making inlets, while beyond were beautiful fields, broad plains and immense forests.

Sending a boat to the shore, the people fled, but by friendly signs were induced to return. They exhibited the greatest pleasure upon beholding the strangers, wondering at their dress, "countenances and complexion." Thus in the same region, in 1584, Barlow says, "They wondered marvellously when we were amongst them at the whiteness of our skins." The color of the natives is described in the Carli version as black and not much unlike that of the Ethiopians, while Ramusio's version speaks of them as brown and not much unlike Saracens. That Ramusio did not draw his version from Carli has been demonstrated already, and the explanation of this variation is therefore the more easy. We may suppose that Verrazano made two draughts of the Letter, couched in different terms, and if so, the variation need not be attributed to the translators. It, however, must be noted distinctly that the natives are *not* described either as Ethiopians or Saracens. Still again, the original by Verrazano may have been, and probably was, written in French; in which case, writing in a foreign tongue, he may have used terms that misled his Italian translators, calling the natives "Maures" or "Mores," which formerly included both the African and Asiatic races. This being supposed, one translator may have rendered the term "Saracens" and the other "Ethiopians." In neither instance, however, is there any valid objection to the terms. The supplement to the French dictionary by Barré (Bruxelles, 1838, p. 635) shows that the Greeks spoke of the "Moors of Asia," and the term is still used in a very comprehensive sense. Italian dictionaries use the word *moro* indiscriminately in speaking of the people of Africa. In the journal of Parmentier, 1529, the inhabitants of Madagascar are called Moors, though the island has a black race and handsome olive-colored tribes. This journal also speaks of a "white Moor" (*More blanc*) as appearing with the black-moors. (Vitet's *Histoire de Normandie*, vol. ii, pp. 77 and 80.)

The hypercriticism that has been bestowed upon this subject is, on the whole, remarkable. The language of other writers has also been overlooked; for Gosnold's scribe (1602) says that some of the New England Indians were "black, thin bearded;" Lok calls Frobisher's Indians "tawny Moors," and Weymouth (1605) says that the Indian women in Maine were "well favored in proportion of countenance, though colored black." Peter Martyr observes that there are "divers degrees of blackness" as respects the races. Columbus in his first letter made known the fact that the people of the New World were not black, which would have been attended to by a forger. Belleforest makes Verrazano say that the people were like the "*Mores de la Barbarie*." Herrera, in describing Verrazano's voyage, probably out of one of the versions mentioned by Pinello, says that their color was the same as that of other Indians (*otros Indios*) Dec. III. L. VI, c. 9. These two authors did not follow the same text, as has been hastily assumed. The Japanese who visited Rome in 1615 are described of a color which borders on black (*qui tire sur le noir*. *Archives des Voyages*, I, 59). Thevet, also, (*Les Singularitez*, p. 54), speaking of the natives of America, says that he will leave it to the philosophers to say why their color "is not so burnt (*aduste*) as that of the Blacks of Ethiopia." With Martyr, he recognizes "degrees of blackness." It is time to stop trifling with the subject, for if there were any error in the Carli Version, the text that follows would supply the correction, since even a slight attention to its statement would convince the reader that Verrazano was not describing negroes. Some were "beautiful," and others were fairer or whiter than the rest, and were somewhat *long haired*. We have portrayed the characteristics of Indians, not Negroes. Verrazano says that "the only exception to their good looks is that they have broad faces." Here is the Indian described with his enormous cheek bones, though it is added with reference to their faces, "we saw many that had sharp ones, with *black eyes*." This is plainly a description that the greatest blunderer would not apply to the black man of the Ethiopian type. We repeat, therefore, that the general description forbids us from straining any special phrase to suit the Ethiopian theory.

In describing the forests, he speaks of them as he actually saw similar forests at a later period. The descriptions may be exaggerated, but what early descriptions are *not* exaggerated? The *variety* of the forests might well impress any European mind, as they did that of Chateaubriand; for in France, the adopted country of Verrazano, only about forty species of trees attain to a height of thirty feet, while in North America

there are one hundred and forty that reach this height, a fact that gives the key to the peculiar wealth of color which marks the spring time and attends upon the dying year. From the previous chapter we have already seen that Barlow, who had Verrazano's Letter in his hand, adopted his language in describing the forests, which were not like those of "Hercynia." Verrazano says that the forests "send forth the sweetest fragrance to the greatest distance," while Barlow says that before they reached the land "we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." (Hakluyt III, 246.)

Southward the harbors were poor, and northward they saw none, yet the coast was not dangerous, "being free from rocks, and bold," a description practically endorsed by Ribault, who was, however, more successful in finding harbors. Northward Verrazano's experience agreed with that of Barlow, who found the region harborless. Henry Hudson and Captain Dermer met with the same experience.

Verrazano continues the description, and says that the coast appeared to stretch across the west, thus apparently indicating the entrance to Chesapeake Bay. Some have supposed that "west" was written by error for "east," yet such an inference is by no means necessary, especially as the Chesapeake appears to be indicated upon the Verrazano Map. The language is very general. It is said they continued to coast along the shore, which "we found stretching out to the west." Barlow, speaking of Wohokon, says, "this land lay stretching itself to the west." Verrazano does not say that they *followed* the coast westward. He means to describe only the general trend of the course, not delaying to speak of every inlet seen. Everywhere they saw a "multitude of fires." Barlow says the same, and observes that they were intended by the natives to show the English their numerical strength. Hudson also saw the fires, and named one place "Barnende gat," the modern "Barnegat." Nor must we omit what Father White says on this point (Force's Tracts, Vol. IV), observing as he does that upon the arrival of his ship at the head of Chesapeake Bay, "fires were kindled through the whole region." Verrazano states that in all this region he "saw no stone of any sort," while the coast is actually free from stone. This is remarkable information for a Florentine forger to possess. Perceiving nothing promising in this region, Verrazano went northward, where he found beautiful forests. He was now passing the shores of Maryland and Delaware. Delaware Bay is not mentioned, though it would seem to be indicated upon the map of Hieronimo.

Verrazano could find no harbor, and remained three days "riding at anchor on the coast." He was probably anchored under Cape May, in the mouth of Delaware Bay, which Dermer passed without mentioning it in 1619, when sailing from New York to Virginia. He says: "I stood along the coast to seek harbors, * * but being a harborless coast, for aught we could then perceive, we found no succor until we arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Main, on the east side of the Bay *Chesterpeak*, where in a wilde road we anchored." The people at this place fled from Verrazano, but in the grass, which, according to Ingram (1568), accumulated from year to year, they found an old woman, and a girl of eighteen, "very beautiful;" also two boys. The people made their canoes of logs, as described by Barlow and Father White (Maryland Coll., 1874, p. 35). Verrazano saw the grapevines in profusion climbing the trees, while Barlow, when describing the vines at Roanoke, with the Florentine's description before him, says that they climb towards the top of high cedars. Though writing of early spring, he says in the Carli version that the grapes were "very sweet and pleasant," while Hudson (1600) says that the "dried" currants which the Indians brought were "sweet and good." Ramusio's version says that the grapes were dried. Which version may be the more correct is not of the slightest consequence. That the grapes were dried is perfectly consistent with the language of Carli, as shown in the previous chapter. Possibly the language was originally exaggerated. Cortez makes Montezuma drink wine from cellars in a country where wine and cellars were unknown. Cartier's "*Relation Original*" (Paris, 1867, p. 39) describes figs in Canada, while Hakluyt (II, 209) mentions dried plums. The critic's deep concern about the grapes and the color of the natives is really a case of much ado about nothing.

Passing along the coast of New Jersey, this course being roughly put at a hundred leagues, the navigator next reaches the Bay of New York. Verrazano says: "We found a very pleasant situation amongst some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea. From the sea to the estuary of the river any ship, heavily laden, might pass, with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of the mouth. Therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with feathers from birds of different colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration,

and showing us where we could most securely land with our boats. We passed up the river about half a league, where it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes, who came to see us. All of a sudden, as it is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed also must contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals."

In 1619, Dermer was also driven away from this harbor, where he fancied, from the account of the Indians, that he should find a passage to the Western Sea of Verrazano. He says: "We were forced back with contrary and overflowing winds, hardly escaping both [with] our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood along the coast to seek harbors." (New York Coll., 1st ser., Vol. I, p. 353.)

Of the Western Sea Verrazano makes no mention while describing the coast between latitude 34° N. and New York, though its existence is taken for granted in his cosmographical appendix, as will be pointed out. Respecting the descriptions thus far, Mr. Buckingham Smith frankly admits that "the general character of the land and its vegetation could have been so correctly described only from actual observation." This being the case, who except Verrazano could have written the description, since it is known that Gomez (1525) did not? With respect to the correctness of the description of New York Bay, nothing needs to be said, as the sketch is easily recognizable. On the map of Hieronimo this part of the coast is associated with St. Germaine, the splendid residence of Francis I. The Bay of New York is exaggerated as respects its size.

The next course of the Navigator was eastward. Ramusio's version makes the distance fifty leagues, while the Carli version says eighty, though both are exaggerations. Sailing this course along the shore of Long Island, distinctly indicated on the map, Verrazano reached a triangular shaped island, said to be ten leagues from the land, and about the size of the famous Island of Rhodes. This must have been Block Island, though the latter is too small, and cannot be compared to Rhodes in size, notwithstanding the similarity in shape. As this subject will come up in the following chapter, in connection with the Map of Verrazano, we may simply observe now that we have no right to deny that a man ever saw a certain island, because he erred in his estimate of its size. The terms throughout the Letter are the loose terms often employed by sailors.

At this point, evidently, Verrazano had reached the waters of Narragansett Bay. This triangular island, which, after the mother of Francis I., he called Luisa, occupies the same position in the map of Hieronimo da Verrazano that Block Island holds on modern maps. Passing this island at a distance, he went on fifteen leagues more to a place in latitude $41^{\circ} 40' N$. It is worthy of notice that the old interpreters of the Letter had no difficulty in recognizing the places described. In 1583 Captain Carlisle urged the establishment of a colony near latitude $40^{\circ} N$., while, as noted in the previous chapter, Gosnold sailed to this place in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hand. The Explorer did not land upon the island of Luisa, but went forward, and found an excellent harbor. The distance of this island from the land is set down as ten leagues, though Block Island is not more than five. Verrazano wrote, more or less, from recollection, and thus goes wide of the mark. Brereton and Archer, the historians of Gosnold's voyage, also misstate the distances, and some of their statements are unintelligible.

Entering the harbor of Newport, Verrazano was met by twenty canoes, full of astonished savages, who kept at a distance while they viewed the structure of the ship and the dress of the strangers. Finally they seemed to be satisfied with what they saw, and expressed their feelings, Indian fashion, by shouting in chorus. By the distribution of trinkets and toys, some of them were induced to go on board the *Dalfina*. Evidently they had never seen Europeans before, and did not know the value of arms nor implements made of iron. The "looking-glasses" shown them caused a smile, and they returned them as soon as they had looked at them. Thus the Maine Indians "laughed" when mirrors were presented them by Weymouth, 1605. Verrazano says that these people had "two Kings, more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described. One was about forty years, and the other about twenty-four." The elder wore around his neck a large chain, ornamented with many stones of different colors, which may have been wampum. Their complexion is described as tawny, and "greatly resembling the antique." If Verrazano had happened here at the time of the annual mourning, he might have found them black and so described them, as the New England Indians, as well as others, painted themselves black at regular intervals.

Respecting the "two Kings" found by Verrazano presiding over the people, it may be observed that the Narragansett Indians were living under this kind of government when the English came, a century

later. Roger Williams (Key, 120) says: "Their government is monarchical; yet at present the chiefest government of the country is divided between a younger Sachem, Miantunnomoh, and an elder Sachem, Canonicus, of about four score years old, this young man's uncle; and their agreement in the government is remarkable." Here we find the same order indicated by Verrazano, Canonicus and his nephew being no doubt descendants of the Sachems who received the Florentine with the kindness which Roger Williams declared to be an eminent characteristic. The Letter states that "one of the two Kings often came with his queen and many attendants to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at a distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying that they would come and see our ship. This was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us, they came off, and remained a while to look around; but on hearing the amazing cries of the sailors, the King sent the queen with her attendants in a very light boat [a bark canoe?] to wait near an island, a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board."

It has been suggested that this was analogised from Peter Martyr (Sec. 1, Lib. IV), where he describes the visit made to the brother of Columbus by the Cacique of Xaragua and his sister, a suggestion disposed of in the "Church Review" (July, 1878). If, however, such had been the case with reference to the language, it would prove nothing, since Martyr's descriptions of the West Indies were published twelve years *before* the Letter of Verrazano was written. To show that the Letter was not the composition of 1524, it must be shown that the Letter quotes from some work of a *later* date than 1524. There is no proof whatsoever that the author of the Verrazano Letter derived any aid from Martyr, though if he had it would not reflect upon the authenticity of the Voyage; otherwise we should have to conclude that Barlow made no voyage, because he plagiarized Verrazano. This brings us to the narrative of Barlow once more, who speaks of the degree of state observed by the savages. At Roanoake, he says, "the King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children revered." Again, the "King's brother's wife" when "she came to visit us (as she did many times), was followed with forty or fifty women always; and when she came to the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more."

Verrazano and Roger Williams agree respecting the state maintained by these savage potentates, and the same testimony is borne by Dermer

and Levett. The declarations of the Letter, that the savages "imitated us with earnestness and fervor in our acts of worship," agrees with the experience of navigators and the known politeness of the Indian (Hakluyt III. 221, and Herrera IV. 248). The Indians guarded their women carefully, according to Verrazano, and Martin Pring (1603) uses Verrazano's Letter in speaking of this characteristic.

Verrazano relates that "on entering the woods, we observed that they all might be traversed by an army ever so numerous," having also noted that farther to the south the "woods are easily penetrated." "Mourt's Relation" (1620) says that the woods are for the "most part open," and "fit either to go or ride in." The "New English Canaan" of Morton (1632), speaking of the country in 1622, says, "the trees grow here and there, as in our parks, and makes the country very beautiful and commodious." Wood, in his "New England Prospect," says that the natives kept the forests clear. Having now entered up a rocky region, the material of the arrow-heads changes; and Verrazano notes that instead of using bone, the chief material employed on the coast southward, they used for the most part "emery, jasper and hard marble," meaning white quartz. Brereton in 1602, with Verrazano's Letter in his hands, speaks of "emery stones" and "alabaster very white," which perhaps was nothing but quartz, as true alabaster does not occur.

The fruits of the country appeared to be different from those of France and Italy, while species of trees unknown in Europe were observed. Verrazano also mentions that the natives took the deer in traps, one of the first facts noted by the Pilgrims when they came into the country.

The Letter says that their dwellings were circular, and that sometimes twenty-five or thirty lived in the same house. Roger Williams confirms the statement; while, upon the other hand, whoever wishes to know how Indian houses were represented in Italy, should consult Bordone's *Isole del Mondo*, (Ed. 1528, Book I. 6); and for France, Thevet's *Cosmographie*, (Ed. 1575, II. 1007), where a solid Romanesque architecture, takes the place of the pointed style of Bordone.

This is the place where, according to the Letter, any fleet might ride in safety. In the sketch which accompanies this chapter, it is marked as the gulf of Refuge (*del Refugio*). Here Verrazano notices that the Indians are long-lived, which is confirmed by Williams, Gosnold and Lescarbot. (Nouvelle France, Ed. 1612, p. 770.) The manufacture of mats, mentioned by the Florentine, is confirmed by all writers. There is also abundant confirmation for the statement that the natives were



GIOVANNI DI PIER ANDREA DI
 PATRIZIO FIOR. ^{NO} GRAN CAPT. ^{NO}
 IL RE' CRESTIANISSIMO
 E DISCOPIRORE



BERNARDO DA FERRAZZANO
 COMANDANTE IN MARE PER
 FRANCESCO PRIMO
 DELLA NUOVA FRANCIA.

nato circa il MCDLXXV. morto nel MDXXV.
 Dedicato al merito sing. dell' Ill.^{mo} e Rev.^{mo} Sig.^{ra} Lodovico da Ferrazzano
 Patrizio, e Canonico Fiorentino Agnato del Med.
 Preso dal Cuat.^{ro} Originale in tela esistente presso la sud.^a Nobil. Famiglia.
 G. Turchi del. F. Altavanti del. 1769



'kind and charitable towards their relations, making loud lamentations in adversity," and at their death join "in weeping, mingled with singing for a long time." One of the most curious pieces of information given by the Florentine, is the fact that they had a way of curing sickness "by the heat of the fire." Roger Williams describes the process, which consisted of putting the patient in an underground oven intensely heated. (R. I. Coll. I. 158.) This was another curious fact for a Florentine forger to know. Those who wish to learn what was actually taught in Italy on this particular subject, may consult Benzoni. (*Mondo Nuovo*, 1565, p. 55.) This "forger" appears to have indulged in a wholesale correction of standard Italian authorities.

The Letter is characterized by various omissions, it is true, and there is no positive description of the aboriginal money called "Wampum," a currency that did not become of interest to Europeans until long after 1524. Ribault (1562) says nothing about wampum, nor does Ingram (1568), nor Barlow (1585), Pring (1603), nor the Popham Journal (1607). Worse than all, Marco Polo, in his account of China, says nothing about *tea*; a melancholy way of writing history, the critic thinks. Verrazano also fails to mention the use of tobacco, but this is the case with Ribault, Barlow, Ingram and the Popham Journalist. Various writers, after the example of Verrazano, fail to give any specimens of the Indian language. So, likewise, nothing is said about bark canoes, unless indeed the "very light boat" already referred to, was of that character, which is not improbable. This failure to refer to the bark canoe has been considered the "most remarkable omission of all," and the critic says that "this light and beautiful fabric was peculiar to the Algonkin tribes." We shall see, however, that it was not so peculiar to the New England Indians. The truth is that the omission forms a proof of the authenticity of the voyage. We have at present no distinct proof that the bark canoe was used at all on the Rhode Island coast in very early times, while the log canoe was used all along the Atlantic coast nearly as far east as the Bay of Fundy. It is probable that even on the Maine coast, the bark canoe was not often used at the time of Verrazano's voyage farther north; where the trees were small, the use of bark was a necessity. In Maine and Massachusetts the trees were large, and *fire* would build a canoe, a process of naval construction which doubtless prevailed until the introduction of steel knives and hatchets. Then the use became divided, and where canoes were required for inland portages they were made of bark, while for more or less of the rough coast work the log canoe was used. Lescarbot (*Nouvelle France*, Ed. 1612, pp. 561, 576)

describes their manufacture; and, speaking of the visit of the French to Saco, Maine, he says, "presently the sea was seen all covered over with their [the Savages'] boats, laden with nimble and lusty men holding themselves up straight in them, which we cannot do without danger, those boats being nothing else but trees hollowed out." (Purchas IV. 1633.) The original reads, *des arbres creusez*. Champlain describes the log canoe at Cape Ann, and the mode of its production (*Œuvres*, III. 59-60). The log canoe, the primitive canoe of all nations, was still the representative canoe of New England in 1604, and was the canoe of the Rhode Island coast in 1524. The allusion to it by Verrazano was correct.* Altogether the amount of curious and exact information which he gives is remarkable, and it goes far to substantiate the authenticity of his Letter, the curious points of which have been brought out the clearer by adverse criticism.

Of the Harbor of Newport, Verrazano gives an exaggerated yet tolerable description. The wrong latitude given to it in the map will be explained elsewhere. He describes the harbor, properly, as opening towards the south; and "in the midst of the entrance there is a living rock (*pietra viva*) formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor." The island referred to is probably Goat Island, where the lighthouse now stands; while the "shining stones, crystals and alabaster" are referable to the brilliant lime-rocks many years ago cut away to the water's edge by General Cullum, to build the modern forts that protect the city and harbor.

Verrazano left the Bay of Refuge May 5th (16th, new style), and proceeded on his cruise, sailing a hundred and fifty leagues along the coast in sight of land, and without delay, as the wind was fair. He perhaps went outside of the island of Martha's Vineyard, and upon reaching the northern end of Cape Cod, shaped his course for the heights of Plymouth, both to learn the character of Cape Cod Bay and to keep in sight of land, through which he may have hoped to find a strait. In the Letter no mention is made of Cape Cod, but that remarkable place is depicted upon the map, together with the neighboring shoals of Nantucket. Verrazano probably was the first navigator in the sixteenth century who saw Cape Cod, which he rounded, and thus reached a point eastward from the Harbor of Refuge. The highlands of Plymouth and the Blue Hills may have been sighted, after which the course would lie outside of Cape Ann to the borders of Eastern Maine. Here the people appeared rude, like the country, marked on the map, "*mucha*

gente." The natives bartered from the rocks, and gave the French a shower of arrows. Verrazano nevertheless forced a landing, and examined the country. In treating the eighth course he seems still to be describing the Maine coast, and is repeating himself, as he may have done elsewhere. The region reminded him of the Adriatic Gulf, and a comparison of the charts of the two regions will show that the resemblance is striking. Buckingham Smith applied the description to Maine, and conceded that it was admirable. Oddly enough, however, Botero (*Relatio Universale*, 1640, p. 172) confounds this region with the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and says that Verrazano counted thirty-seven instead of thirty-two islands, as the Florentine himself states, while Herrera speaks of fifty-two.

Mr. Smith in his "Inquiry" (p. 17) says: "How any one, following the shore to Nova Scotia—in this instance a mariner on the lookout for a strait opening the way to Cathay, and discovering the series of islands extending along Massachusetts Bay eastward to Cape Sable—should fail to get into the Bay of Fundy, is certainly beyond explanation;" while Mr. Murphy, in his "Voyage of Verrazano," (p. 56), says that in running this course the Florentine would have "been finally locked in the Bay of Fundy." This might seem to prove conclusively that Verrazano was never on the coast, but the same argument would banish Gomez, as neither the accounts of his voyage nor the Map of Ribero, which is supposed to mirror it, gave any hint of the Bay of Fundy. The trouble, however, is to be found in the fact that Mr. Smith had never seen the Map of Verrazano, while Mr. Murphy was imperfectly acquainted with it; for, though the Letter gives no description of the bay, the Map of Verrazano shows that he saw it. East of the Penobscot are two openings, one of which, "Terra Onde," "the deep land," indicates this great inlet. Among other maps after Verrazano is the so-called map of Cabot, 1542, which lays down "*rio fonda*," and Mercator, 1569, makes it "*r. hondo*." Dr. Kohl calls attention to the circumstance that the Bay of Fundy is not referred to in the Letter of Verrazano, nor mentioned by Gomez; yet he recognizes the fact that the bay was known, and says: "We find on the first old Spanish maps, in the latitude where it ought to be, names like these: 'Rio hondo,' or fonda (a deep river); or 'Bahia honda,' or fonda (a deep bay); or 'gulfo' (a gulf); once also 'La Bahia de los Ensenada' (the bay of the deep inlet). I presume that these were Spanish names for that bay." The "terra onde" of Verrazano, however, is apparently the first indication of the bay, and it proves that the place was known to him at the time

he made the voyage. The objection of the hostile critic, therefore, is not well taken, and has no weight.

It is not probable, however, that Verrazano explored the Bay of Fundy, as he was approaching the end of his voyage, while the region was full of perils, especially for a navigator ignorant of the locality. What he actually saw was nevertheless recorded, and, as we have seen, was reflected in the cartology of following times. Still progress in delineating the outlines of the coast was slow. The peninsula of Nova Scotia was fully indicated by the fraudulent Thevet (*Cosmographie Universelle*, 1575), who took his narrative from some French navigator, and gave it as the result of his pretended personal observations. In 1593 a geographical work published at Antwerp gave a rude map, indicating Nova Scotia as an island, but it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Lescarbot and Champlain published their maps, that the delineations of the coast began to take an exact form. Nevertheless, as late as 1624, De Bry, in one of his general maps, calls the bay a river, as Mercator does, styling it "*r. fundo*." A hundred years later the name was spelled "funda," though at present it is called "Fundy."

Many voyages might be quoted that make no reference to important points, which nevertheless appear in maps accompanying the text. Such is the case with the Voyage of Verrazano. This instance, moreover, demonstrates the truth of the statement made by Verrazano, that he had a "little book" which contained many details not recorded in the letter. It appears that the book in question was used by his brother in the construction of the map, which is the earliest map now known indicating the Bay of Fundy. The two writers who have criticized the supposed ignorance of the author of the Letter respecting the bay, instead of detracting from the trustworthiness of the narrative, simply emphasize the value of the Florentine's observations, and call attention to points that demonstrate the authenticity of the voyage. In fact, it will appear in the end, when all the testimony respecting his career is presented, that few navigators are more indebted to hasty criticism than the Florentine Explorer.

Three points among others were fixed in American cartology by the Voyage of Verrazano, the Bay of Fundy, Cape Cod and Sandy Hook. Cape Cod was generally known as "C. Arecifes" and "C. Baxos." Its position is clearly defined by such writers as Oviedo, Gomara and Linschoten, and various map-makers at different periods,

under the influence of Verrazano, showed some knowledge of its existence. Dr. Kohl fancied that Cape Cod was indicated by "C. Muchas Isles," forgetting that this was a cape near the Penobscot, and overlooking the fact that this name was placed by Homen *east* of "B. Estevan gutierrez," the latter word being a misspelling of Gomez, whose Bay was the Gulf of Maine. From these and other considerations, the reader will perceive that the failure of Verrazano to explore the foggy Bay of Fundy, where only the most skillful navigator is able to feel his way, is not so remarkable after all. The wonder is that he should have observed as much as he did during the short time he remained upon this new and unknown coast. Whoever has been baffled for weeks together by the fogs of that region will have nothing to say against Verrazano.

Verrazano next sailed northward again, making, according to Ramusio's version, a hundred and fifty leagues, while according to the statement of Verrazano's Cosmographical Appendix he reached the latitude of 50° N. In the previous chapter the fact is pointed out that there is no real disagreement on the point between the two versions of the Letter. But whether or not he really went so far north as 50° is of little consequence. Nevertheless it is a surprise to find any one assuming that Verrazano meant to teach that the coast up to the limit of his voyage was seen by him for the first time. It is true that he speaks of seeing a land in 34° N. that was never seen before, a remark already pointed out as exculpatory, though by no means suggested by fancy. But the *real* grievance, in the eye of the critic, is found in Verrazano's statement that he had "discovered (*discoperto*) seven hundred leagues and more of new countries." The condemnation of this statement is followed by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 57) with a disquisition proving that Europeans had a "prior knowledge" of those countries. This prior knowledge cannot and need not be denied. It is remarkable that any one should suppose this prior knowledge to be in the slightest degree inconsistent with the statement of Verrazano, that he had "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries. The facts were always perfectly understood. Ramusio^s states that Aubert in the *Pensee* had visited Canada in 1508, from which time and long before, the region of Cape Breton, Newfoundland and Labrador was continuously visited by Basques, Bretons and Portuguese, the latter having gone to 50° N. and probably farther. To represent either Verrazano or Cartier as the first European who saw the country would be absurd. When Cartier, in 1534, explored the gulf of St. Lawrence, he was piloted to a harbor by a French vessel whose commander was

familiar with the ground. The next year, when he reached Quebec, the natives, who had already seen more Europeans than they wished to see, tried to frighten him away, and also used words proving that they had been in previous communication with the French. As early as 1527 there was a considerable fleet of various nationalities that for a long time had been accustomed to visit St. John's. These things were well-known in Europe, where no person of the commonest geographical information could be ignorant of what was so notorious. Every tyro knew of the fisheries of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and of the fleets annually sailing thither; therefore to suppose that the author of the Verrazano Letter, whoever he may have been, was ignorant of the facts, and represented the navigator as opening up a country never before visited by Europeans, is indefensible.

The Letter, however, was written by a man conversant with science and with the progress of maritime discovery, who, as already pointed out, even knew that no lunar eclipse took place during the voyage of Verrazano. What, then, did Verrazano mean, by saying that he "discovered" more than seven hundred leagues of new countries? This brings us face to face with the truth which may not be forgotten in such a connection, namely: That the meaning of "discover" (*discoperto*) has changed and narrowed since Verrazano and other earlier writers described our coasts. Verrazano meant just what Barlow meant, when, in 1584, he said that his expedition "discovered part of the country now called Virginia." Again, he meant what the Dutch taught in 1614, by saying that they had "discovered and found" "new lands between New France and Virginia, the sea coast whereof lies between forty and forty-five degrees." (Holland Doc. I. 11.) All this region had been visited and mapped by both French and English, as the Dutch well knew. The word "discover," therefore signified to explore or survey. This was the sense in which Verrazano used the term, and it will be impossible to force any other interpretation of his words.

It is said by Mr. Murphy in the "Voyage of Verrazzano," (p. 39, *n*) that the "*Voyages Avantureux*," attributed to Allefonsce, and published in 1550, "gives almost a contemporary denial * * of the Verrazzano discovery of the country." The view is based upon the statement of the work in question, that the river of Norumbega "is newly discovered by the Portuguese and Spaniards." This work, however, is not the work of Allefonsce. Respecting the force of the terms, it may be said that "newly" signifies either "recently" or "anew." If the latter, then the declaration is that Norumbega had been rediscovered by the

Portuguese and Spaniards. If, on the other hand, it was intended to mean that in 1559 it had lately been discovered for the first time, the statement also gives a denial to the voyage of Allefonsce, who sailed on the New England coast, and wrote of Norumbega nearly twenty years before. It also discredits the voyage of Gomez in 1525, notwithstanding Norumbega was the region called by his name. The truth is that all the compiler of the work, incorrectly attributed to Allefonsce, meant was that Norumbega had been re-explored recently by the Portuguese and Spaniards. Still, even if the language in question *did* give a denial to the Verrazano discovery, such denial would have no force, in the face of the incontrovertible fact, that in 1529 the brother of Verrazano laid down Norumbega upon his map, which represented the navigator's voyage. On this map, a copy of which was presented to Henry VIII., some distance southwest of Cape Breton is found "Oranbega," simply a form of Norumbega, so variously rendered on the old charts.

Verrazano does not mention seeing any fishing vessels around Cape Breton, and in fact may not have seen any. Ships often steam from New York to the Irish coast to-day without sighting a sail. Yet Verrazano, like all the world, knew that fishermen were there. Such cheap information might well have been introduced by a forger devising an imaginary voyage, but it was not required on the part of a veritable explorer like Verrazano. Therefore it is that we find him making no effort to describe the northern regions, already so well known, while the regions to the south, about which Europe would desire information, he describes with the greatest particularity.

In his brief *resumé* of the voyage Verrazano makes a poor account of distances, which Humboldt assures us are of little use in such connections; while respecting the courses sailed he is hardly more exact, only three of the many are given between Newport and Newfoundland. To criticise such a general narrative with the measuring rod in hand, would be both unscientific and unjust. The author of the Letter teaches that his statements in this respect are of a general character, where he informs the King that accounts of his explorations would be found in the "book," which he hopes "may prove serviceable" to navigators, saying; "We therefore determined our progress from the difference of longitude, which we ascertained by various instruments by taking the sun's altitude from day to day, and by calculating geometrically the distance run by the ship from one horizon to another."

To recapitulate the points of the voyage of Verrazano would be to

repeat nearly the whole chapter. It must, therefore, suffice to remind the reader of the fact, that at every stage of the exploration we have the careful, yet unstudied narration of an actual voyager. Proceeding from south to north, the character of the country, the people and its productions, undergo their proper changes. This takes place without any effort on the part of the writer to indicate that his knowledge is superior. The most curious facts are stated without any triumph or ostentation. The spirit of the literary forger is nowhere to be found. In the description of the voyage is discovered a simple, plain and modest attempt to state in general terms what the navigator observed in passing along the coast of a new and unexplored country. The truthfulness of his narrative has been attested by witnesses of the greatest value, since no higher compliment can be paid to a traveler than to have his descriptions recognized as truthful, and copied by those who come after him. This, however, was done by successive writers and observers for nearly a hundred years, during which time the achievements of Verrazano exerted a marked influence upon American exploration. Thus the Dieppe Captain, Allefonsce, Ribault, Barlow, Archer and Gosnold all give the highest testimony to the authenticity of the voyage, which adverse criticism has assailed in vain.

¹ The American Church Review, July, 1876.

² The small dried grape of Corinth was called a "currant," the latter term being a corruption of the former. On account of their resemblance, the term "currant" was applied to the whole *genus Ribes* by the English, after the dried fruit came to be imported. The "Currant" of Hudson may therefore prove to be nothing less than the grape of Verrazano, both describing the same thing, one speaking according to the English style, and the other after the manner of the men of the Levant, a region with which he was familiar.

³ One of the Plymouth Company in 1621, discovered what was supposed to be a great inland sea, and if a map had been made without further exploration, we should have found on it a great sea behind a narrow isthmus, after the Verrazano pattern. A reminder of the discovery at Plymouth is found in the name still used, "the Billington Sea," Dexter's "Mourt," p. 71.

⁴ See Stenitz on "The Ship;" Pinkerton's Voyages (XIII); De Bry's "*Perigrinations in Americam*" (Part I, ed. 1590, Plate 12).

⁵ If Ramusio "worked over" the Letter of Verrazano, why did he not square the statements of the Letter with the voyage of Aubert and others, which he published in the same work with Verrazano's?

THE VERRAZANO MAP

THE Verrazano Map, of which the North American section is now presented with the coast names for the first time, was drawn by Hieronimo da Verrazano, the brother of Giovanni the Navigator. Concerning Hieronimo, comparatively little is known. The late Buckingham Smith would not believe that any such person as the map maker was ever known, and associated the investigations of Tiraboschi with "speculative history." What he refers to in this phrase is a passage in a letter written by Annibal Caro from Castro, in Sicily, prior to October, 1537, and addressed to members of the household of M. di Gaddi, at Rome. In the course of his letter, Caro says: "As for you, Verrazano, a seeker after new worlds and their wonders, I cannot as yet tell you anything worthy of your map; for we have not yet passed through any country which had not been discovered already, either by you or your brother." A "slight examination" of the life and writings of Caro was sufficient to show that at this time he was a teacher in the Gaddi family, and that, while absent on a journey, and "sportively addressing his pupils," he "makes reference to their studies and exercises in geography and map making." Such was the theory that Mr. Smith devised for the purpose of getting rid of the map maker. The subject is referred to here for the purpose of illustrating one of the methods employed in seeking to discredit the voyage of Verrazano.

When some knowledge of the map of Hieronimo was afforded by an imperfect photograph furnished to the American Geographical Society, it became sufficiently clear, even to the prejudiced, that the Verrazano addressed in 1536 by Caro was no school boy, but that the map maker alluded to was a person who had achieved a reputation seven years before, he being no other than the author of the Verrazano Map of 1529, now preserved in the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. In the year 1876, however, some documents were printed at Paris in the *Revue Critique*, which proved anew the relationship between

Giovanni and Hieronimo. These documents exist at Rouen, being powers of attorney executed by Giovanni, in which, May, 1526, he refers to "Jerosme de Varasenne, his brother and heir," signing himself "Janus Verrazanus"—this being the only copy of his autograph now known to exist. Jerosme, or Hieronimo, appears to have been his brother's agent. In 1536 he was in some way connected with the household of Gaddi, a rich Florentine resident at Rome. Probably he maintained the relation of a familiar friend. Of his death, at present, we have no account. The identity of Hieronimo never should have been doubted any more than the voyage of Giovanni. In the autograph of Giovanni, which appears in the Rouen document, the name is spelled, as in the map, with a single *z*. The following is a *fac simile*:

"Janus" also appears in the Carli version of the Letter. "Verrazano" is spelled with double *z*, but that version, as already pointed out, is not the original. The double *z* is introduced by error. The photographer of the map in Rome made the same error, writing in double *z*, when the original spelling, perfectly legible, was before him. The single *z* occurring in both the Rouen document and the map is significant, while the recurrence of Janus in that document and in the Carli version of the Letter, so far as it indicates anything, teaches that the Letter and the Rouen document proceeded from the same source. A manuscript sermon by one of the family, according to Mr. Brevoort, is signed with a single *z*.¹

The Map of Verrazano forms one of those indefinite, yet effectual, protests made against the system of Ptolemy towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when the shape of the American continent was being developed. The system of Ptolemy supposed that no continent existed in the Atlantic, and that it was possible to sail from Western Europe to India. This was the view of Columbus, who had no original ideas, being a mere copyist, and died in the belief that he had actually demonstrated the truth of the old theory. Thus Strabo (c. 1.) wrote: "Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses, so placed as to prevent circumnavigation. How

much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted? Those who circumnavigate the earth do not say that they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision."

The Map of Verrazano represents the improved Italian cartography at the time when it had reached the peculiar phase, expressed not only by the outlines of the map, with its narrow isthmus separating the Atlantic from the Pacific Seas, but by the observation of the navigator himself, where he says to the King of France, "My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the new land some such obstacle as there has proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean." He then refers to the fact that the Ptolemaic system supposed an open sea between Europe and Asia, without intervening land, a theory that Hieronimo was relinquishing with regret. October 15, 1524, Cortes wrote to the Emperor of Spain that he intended to send a fleet to search for a strait between Florida and Newfoundland; while in 1525 Gomez undertook such a voyage.

The Verrazano Map is the earliest known map which shows an isthmus near latitude 42° N. The author fixes the date of the map at 1529, by saying that "Nova Gallia" was discovered five years since. The words "Mare Occidentale" are *not* found on the map.

The earliest Spanish map of North America now known to the geographical world, was made in the year 1500 by Juan de la Cosa. It shows a solid coast line, while Cuba appears properly represented as an island. Ruysch, in his map of 1508, shows a coast line, but it resembles that of Eastern Asia, upon which he engrafted the outlines of Newfoundland. Cuba appears as an island of almost continental proportions.

Before Ruysch's Map appeared at Rome, a map of the world was engraved in Lorraine, being originally intended for publication in 1507, though it was not brought out until published in the Ptolemy of 1513. Evidently it was drawn between 1501-4, and sent from Lisbon to the Duke of Lorraine. At all events the engraver finished his work before Duke René's death, which took place December 10,² 1508. At this period the Portuguese were active in the Gulf of Mexico, and doubtless explored Florida. There is a manuscript in the Admiralty at Seville, which shows that in May, 1503, Juan de la Cosa went to explore Uraba; and that, July 13th, he sent a courier to his government, complaining that the Portuguese had been to the country discovered by Bastides. In August, Cosa went to Spain, to lay the whole matter before the

Court, as the Portuguese had arranged to make still another voyage. At Segovia, Cosa presented to the Queen two charts of the New World. These, apparently, are lost. (Ramon de la Sagra's "Cuba," II, 488.) The Lorraine Map of 1513 (Llewellyn's "Moyen-Age," II, 145) contains nothing in particular that is taken from either Cosa or Ruysch, though it appears to have had its origin somewhat in common with the latter. It indicates the progressive spirit so evident in Martyr's Map, published in 1511, which laid down Florida a "*beimeni*." On this point the reader may also consult Varnhagen. ("Le Premier Voyage de Amerigo Vespucci," 1869, p. 24.) The map of 1513 shows North and South America, with Florida and the Gulf of Mexico fully defined, though the Cape is placed in 35° N. With this map we have the commencement of the North America portion of the Map of Verrazano, whose author, either without sufficient study, or by a clerical error, adopted the wrong latitude, which was too high by about eight degrees. For the extreme northern portion of his map, Hieronimo used some chart similar to that of Pedro Reinel, which appears as Number III. in the accompanying sheet of sketches. The intermediate portions of the coast were made up from material and hints afforded by his Brother's Voyage. Another reason perhaps for leaving the latitude of Florida as given in the map of 1513, and as also found in one of the maps of Kunstman's Atlas (Sheet 4) may be found in the fact that Giovanni did not explore Florida, while at the time Hieronimo drew his map he had not heard of the Exploration made in that region by Ayllon, 1523. He knew, however, of the Voyage of Garay, made to the northerly part of the Bay of Mexico, in 1521, for the purpose of discovering any rich cities that might be situated along the coast; thus carrying on the work of Cortes and Ponce de Leon. Garay being succeeded by De Soto. Garay's survey was extended nearly to the peninsula of Florida. The limit of his voyage is stated upon the Map of Verrazano, precisely as upon the undated sketch given by Navarrete (III, 148) in connection with the Cedula of Garay. The legend is omitted in our present representation of the Verrazano Map on account of the lack of space. It runs, however, as follow: "*Qui comincio a discoprir franc de garra ultima della Nova Hispania;*" or, "here begins the voyage of Francis Garay, the limit of New Spain." By commencing with the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, the central portions of the coast shared in the error, which is not eliminated until reaching Newfoundland. This must be understood very distinctly, since confusion will otherwise ensue when the reader comes to examine the regions representing the Bay of New York and the Rhode Island

coast, which are placed six or seven degrees too high. Under the circumstances, the latitude may be thrown out altogether, as the configuration of the coast is recognizable.

Prior to the time when this map was made, a passage to the west, through the North American Continent, was supposed to exist, notwithstanding the fact that the map of 1513 gave a conjectural coast line as high as latitude 55° N. This point, therefore, renders it necessary to refer to the "Isole del Mondo" of Benedetto Bordone, written in 1521, being sanctioned by the Pope the same year, and by the Venitian Senate in 1526, though not printed until 1528. This work (L. Primo, pp. 6 and 11 verso) gives two maps, which, taken together, exhibit the chief portions of North and South America. With respect to North America, the remarkable thing is, that for its outlines Bordone adopted the outlines of Greenland as found upon the Zeno Map, published at Venice in 1558.³

After speaking of regions of Northern Europe, Bordone says; "To these is added the island newly discovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese, in which there is a country called Laboratore, which is in the Western Ocean, trending towards the north part, west opposite Ireland. It is eighteen hundred miles long, and extends towards the west two thousand miles, and thence turns south and south-west, in a manner that it forms a strait with the new world, which is east and west with the Strait of Gibraltar, and this part extends a thousand miles; and from what the navigators say until the present day, though no person has set foot upon the land, it is well inhabited." The maps accompanying the account agree perfectly with the description, which we must remember was prepared for publication and approved three years before the voyage of Verrazano. Bordone next proceeds to describe the people according to Pasqualigo, who gave an account of the voyage of the *Cortereals*, published in 1508. Bordone's work having been published in 1528, was doubtless seen by Hieronimo, who, instead of copying the open strait, put a narrow peninsula in that region, according to his Brother's Letter.

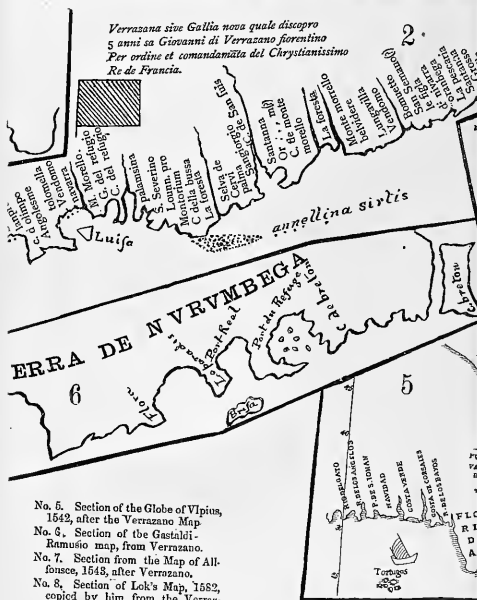
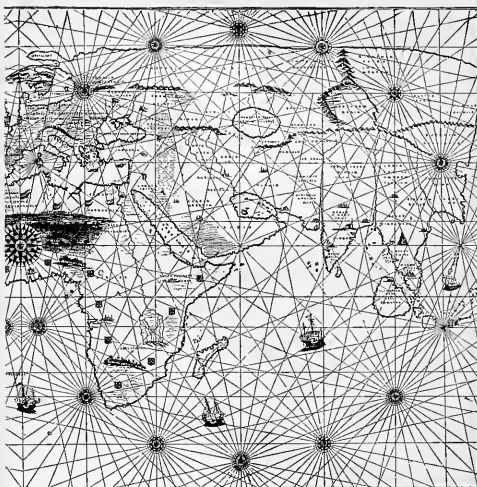
That the Map of Verrazano was drawn at the period claimed is certain, since a copy of it was presented to Henry VIII. If it had been the forgery of a late period, the maker would have complimented the navigator sufficiently to avoid the errors of latitude. This chart is evidently the one referred to by Annibal Caro in 1537.

Amongst the names placed by Jerome upon the peninsula of Florida are those of "Dieppe" and "Livorno," which, it has been said, were

given to indicate the beginning of his brother's exploration on the American coast. Livorno, however, appears as "G. Livor," or the Gulf of Leghorn, applied to the waters on the west coast of Florida by the map of 1513, which is number IV. of our sketch. The name, however, disappears in the later editions. The names taken from the map of 1513 were used by Verrazano in entire good faith, as was the case with those from Reinell.

The exploration of Verrazano, instead of being limited by the names on the map, beginning with Livorno, is indicated in part at least by three flags, of which the most southern stands near the isthmus of the western sea. When the latitudes of the map are corrected, the flag is found where, according to the Letter, it should be found, namely, near 34° N. The northernmost flag probably was not intended to show the limit of the voyage, but rather the limits of the region explored by Verrazano, as the Breton flag succeeds the three flags of Verrazano. We know that these flags were intended to indicate the claims of Francis I., because upon the original map they are blue, which about that period was made the color of France, in opposition to the white flag of England. Francis I., it would appear from Vernouel (*Les Couleurs de la France*, p. 25), had something to do in confirming the use of this color. These flags bear no device whatsoever, and the precise time when the lilies came into general use is not apparent.

A careful study of the map will show that, with all its defects, it possesses excellencies not found on any other map of the sixteenth century, and proves at the same time that, with the exception of Florida and Newfoundland sections, it was based upon an original survey of the Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Cape Breton. Speaking of the Letter of Verrazano, Mr. Smith says that it "was written at a time so far back, that the entrances of the coast of the 'Lay of the Land' were imperfectly or not at all known, and that it was dated too far forward, to be in proper relation with the progress of maritime discovery." Nothing could be more remote from the truth than this. Rhetoricians tell us that, if we wish to test a figure, we should paint it. The same is true of a geographical description; and when that of Verrazano is thus treated its value is evident. Hieronimo, in a sense, painted the voyage of his brother, the Navigator, the result being so admirable that it required nearly a hundred years for geographers to make any real improvement upon his work. As Mr. Smith never saw the Verrazano Map and knew nothing whatever about it, he may be excused for giving utterance to opinions like those set forth in his "Inquiry."



No. 5. Section of the Globe of Vliptus, 1649, after the Verrazano Map.

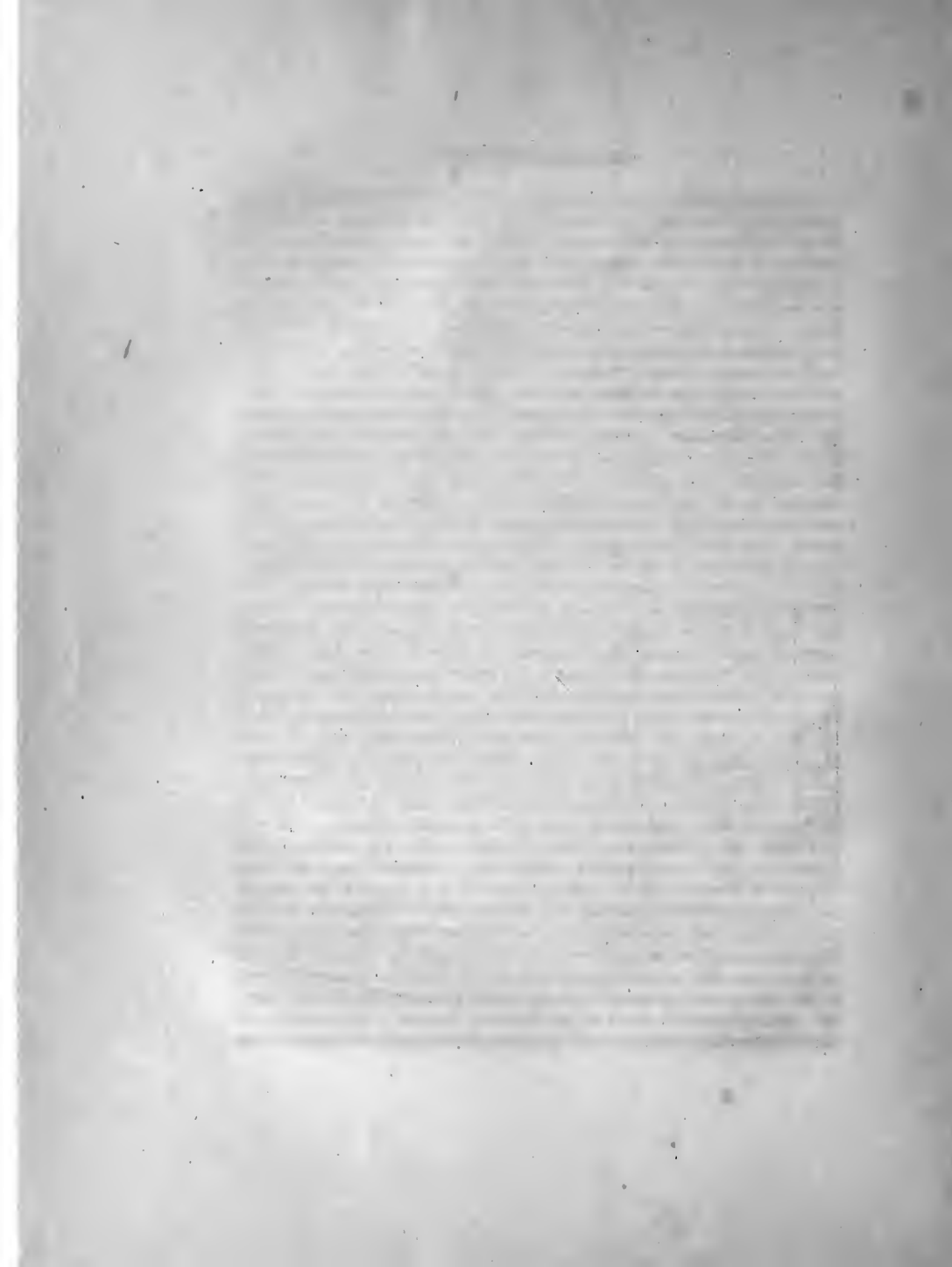
No. 6. Section of the Gastaldi-Ramusio map, from Verrazano.

No. 7. Section from the Map of Alloué, 1643, after Verrazano.

No. 8. Section of Lok's Map, 1682, copied by him from the Verrazano Map presented to Henry VIII.

Note. All except No. 1, are shown on a scale one fourth of the original.





The false latitudes of the map have prevented it from being understood. In considering it, therefore, the latitudes must be discarded. When this is done, the student will have no difficulty in recognizing the outlines of the North Atlantic coast. For general correctness, the delineation is not equalled by any map of the sixteenth century. Much that is wanting in the Letter appears in this Map. The peninsula of Florida is unmistakable, and, moving northward and striking the coast in the region of the Carolinas, we find the well known Cape Hatteras in Cape "Olimpo." Near "Santanna" is the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and at Palamsina is the entrance of the Delaware. The coast of New Jersey follows with the well known Sandy Hook at its northern extremity; "San Germano" marking a large bay, which is the Bay of New York. This bay is exaggerated, because it formed a prominent point in the narrative. The peninsula indicates Long Island, supposed to be attached to the Continent, and which was not known to be an island until the seventeenth century, the entrance to Long Island Sound being narrow and filled with islands. The coast still stretches eastward, beyond the Island of "Luisa," or Block Island, to a cape called "Bussa," and a long Syrtis indicating Cape Cod and Nantucket Shoals. The harbor of Verrazano is given east of Luisa, as "G. del Refugio." Passing Cape Cod, the coast turns more northward, and then, properly, eastward again. The great river near the Cape of "San Luis" might stand for the Penobscot or the Saco, the latter being, perhaps, the more probable. From this region to Cape Breton the map has no special features, the coast being delineated as it often was in subsequent times, the Bay of Fundy not appearing with much distinctness, if at all. No map now known to the public of an earlier date than the seventeenth century, except Homem's, 1558, shows that bay, though its existence was known, the peninsula of Nova Scotia having been compared to the peninsula of Italy, 1575, as indicated in the previous chapter.

Under the circumstances, it is remarkable that the outline of the coast should be so recognizable. In the Map of Ribero, based upon the Voyage of Gomez, 1525, no indication whatever is found of the peculiar region between New York Bay and the Penobscot. Gomez is credited with having observed and named the Hudson "San Antonio," which Verrazano mentions as the river of the "Steep Hills;" but, if he came to New York Bay and went eastward, he has given no hint whatsoever of the region now embraced by Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. As it is, we have no account of his visiting the region in question, and it would be quite as reasonable to suppose that

the naming of the Hudson on the map of Ribero was one result of the Voyage of Verrazano, in 1524. The Penobscot is the only region clearly defined by Gomez, and his visit cannot, perhaps, be denied. In the Ribero map, Sandy Hook is wildly exaggerated. Attention has already been called to the fact that many supposed that it was intended to represent Cape Cod; whereas that cape has no representation in the sixteenth century maps, beyond what was given by Verrazano. After the year 1529, the knowledge of the coast between the Delaware and the Penobscot suffered a decline. The map of Hieronimo was used, but the high latitudes given to the region confused the copyists, and Long Island eventually disappeared, being known no more until it reappeared in the Dutch "Figurative Map" (Holland Documents) in connection with the explorations of Adrian Block; though Allefonsce evidently knew of the existence of Long Island Sound. In the meanwhile the coast was represented in a crude fashion, New England being obliterated, while a great gulf, which Dr. Kohl confused with the "Gulf of Maine," was thrown in between Sandy Hook and the Penobscot. Apart from the Verrazano Map, and those which show its influence, Cape Cod had no delineation in the maps, though its position in relation to Sandy Hook and Cape Breton was understood by historians and cartographers. This view of the subject is amply vindicated by the careful study of the maps subsequent to Verrazano. Let us next proceed to notice the effect of this map upon subsequent delineations of the coast.

The earliest existing map now known, showing the influence of the Verrazano Map, is that of Agnese, 1536, with an open sea and isthmus near 40° N. There is nothing to indicate that Agnese *preceded* Verrazano. Besides, the map referred to by Carli, October, 1537, must have been in existence in Italy for some time at the date of the Letter.

The Ptolemy of 1540 breaks up the solid continent, which on the map of 1513 extends from 35° N. to 55° N. It also shows an open sea in a modified form, the land northward being called "Francisca," a name evidently recognized by the Portuguese prior to Cartier's voyage in 1534.

The influence of the Verrazano Map is next seen in the plan of a globe published by Gerard Mercator at Louvain, in 1541. This work, republished and accompanied by a celestial globe in 1551, was bought for a trifle by a representative of the Royal Library at Brussels in 1868, when the collections of M. Benoni-Verelst were disposed of at Ghent. The plans contemplated a globe about fifteen inches in diameter. It was dedicated to Nicholas Parrenat, Lord of Granville. In 1875 it was

reproduced in *fac simile* by the Belgian Government, the edition being limited to two hundred copies. Though it bears the date of 1541, the material from which it was composed belongs to an earlier period, as it makes no reference to the explorations of Cartier. The Sea of Verrazano is not indicated. The North Atlantic coast line appears to have been drawn in accordance with "some of his great globes," which Willes says (Hakluyt III, 25) "continued the West Indies, even to the North Pole, and consequently cut off all passage by sea that way." The central portion of the coast line would appear to have been copied out of the Verrazano Map, showing thereby that the map in some form was probably known to Mercator. The general plan of Mercator's globe resembles that of Vlpus, made the following year, indicating that both may have worked from a common model, one using coast lines and the other names from Verrazano. The globe of Mercator, like the Map of Verrazano, shows the Bay of New York, Long Island and the regions of Narragansett and Cape Cod. The Syrtis of Verrazano is represented differently by Mercator, showing possibly the influence of some other map. The whole region near that Syrtis is dotted to indicate the shoal water found on modern charts. The nomenclature of the map is different, and one is at loss to know upon what principle Mercator at this early period introduced some of the new names, as there is no distinct account of any voyage to the region which might have suggested them. Cape Cod appears to be indicated by "Malabrigo," which would signify commotion or strife, the meaning being analogous to the "Bussa" of Verrazano, and the "Baturier" and "Mal-lebarre" of Champlain. In fact, all navigators who saw the cape incline to designate it with reference to the tumult created by the shallow water on the coast. The Island of Luisa is not laid down by Mercator, though we shall see that it appeared in his subsequent map. The Italian names of Verrazano are discarded, his work not being designed for use by people of that nation. The peninsula of Florida and the neighboring region bear names that appeared in several maps of Ptolemy, beginning with 1513. The central latitudes are also thrown too high, as in the Verrazano Map; and, to get rid of the excessive eastward projection of the latter's coast line, Mercator at the wrong point extends his coast line northward, making the part corresponding with Long Island trend in that direction, instead of toward the east. But whatever may be the deviation, there can be little doubt but that Mercator was influenced by Verrazano.

The open Western Sea of Verrazano reappears upon the globe of

Vlpius, 1542, a portion of which is given in sketch numbered V. This globe was made for Cervinus, the Cardinal-Presbyter of Santa Croce, afterwards raised to the pontificate as Marcellus II. The globe affords the clearest proof of the growing influence of Verrazano. The country is called "*Verrazana sive Nova Gallia*," having been discovered "Anno Sal. M. D." The maker of the globe probably intended to complete the date, but did not. The statement that Cervinus was unable, with all his facilities, to learn the date of the voyage is a pure invention. The names on the globe afford convincing proof that the map of Verrazano was used. Amongst the names are "Selva de Cervi," "Piaggia de Calmo," "Lungavilla," "G. di San Germanus," and "Refugium promont." A careful comparison of the map of Jehan Allefonsce of about 1552 (see sketch III.) with the maps of Verrazano, Gastaldi and Ramusio, will show that they all belong to the same family. The sketches of Allefonsce are very rude, but it is evident that his Bay of the Isles is the same as the Bay of Refuge on the map of the Florentine. The resemblance is clear when compared with the map in the Ramusio of 1556, to which reference will be made in its place. The Island of Luisa, without the name, appears to be indicated by Allefonsce, who puts the Norumbega River too far south, inserting it in the delineation which represents the region of Narragansett.

The next map to be mentioned is Ruscelli's, 1544 (Kohl's Maine, p. 297), which indicates the influence of Verrazano by its isthmus and Western Sea, but the author of the map falls back upon the ideas of the old geographers, who made America a part of Asia. The nomenclature of this sketch is scanty, though near latitude 40° N. is seen "*Montagne Verde*," a name then in general use. In his coast line, as in his general system, Ruscelli distinctly repudiates Ribero, whose alleged influence in Italy never existed. The map published by Ramusio at Venice in 1534 has been attributed either to Ribero or to the anonymous map of 1527, which, together with Ribero's map, passed into Italy at an early period. (Murphy's "Verrazano," p. 125.) This, however, is a mistake. The map upon which Ramusio based his sketch of 1534 was a map in the Museum of the Propaganda, of which a section is given herewith. Ribero was repudiated by his own countryman, Oviedo, in 1534, when that writer described the North Atlantic coast from the map of Alonzo Chaves.

A sketch from the map is given in connection with Ramusio's "*Indie Occidentali*," Venice, 1534, that the reader may make the comparison, which shows that the published map was based upon the manuscript

Of this, however, no proof is given, and the error may be explained easily, though it appears in a very sumptuous and valuable work somewhat recently published at Rome, and entitled "*Studj Bibliografici*," etc. At page 358, under the year 1528, is the following: "177 [No.]. *Carta Nautica di Gerolamo Verrazzano*." This is the map of which we speak, and from which our copy was taken by the writer. At the most, we could refer nothing more than the mechanical execution of this particular map to Hieronimo. In the volume referred to, the true Verrazano Map is catalogued in its proper place.

Turning next to the Ptolemy of 1548, we find a map drawn by Gastaldi, which is the counterpart of Ruscelli's. These two cartographers worked together. This map recognizes the Sea of Verrazano, and repudiates Ribero. Another map in the same volume recognizes Verrazano *without* the open sea. It puts a cape in 40° N., taken from Ramusio's map of 1534, and incorporates northward a coast line from Verrazano, at the same time expunging the reference to the voyage of Gomez. In this map a triangular-shaped island ("Brisa") lies opposite one of the deep indentures. It bears six of the Verrazano names, three of which are peculiar to the Florentine, namely, "Angoulesme," "p. Refugio," and "Monte de Trigo." It will be observed, however, that the parts of the coast line used are removed from the central portion of the coast where they were placed, and removed to Nova Scotia, for the purpose of keeping them in the *latitude* erroneously assigned. It is evident that the Italian geographers had obtained no new knowledge of that part of the coast, and were laboring under the mistake into which they were led by the false latitudes of Hieronimo. Therefore, the delineation of the entire coast of Long Island, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts was carried northward to the region of Cape Breton. This mistake was perpetuated by others, who had no fresh surveys of the coast to show them where the delineations in question belonged. Thus error was accumulated upon error.

To the names already given as occurring on the Verrazano Map, those of "Nurumbega" and "Brisa" may be added. The latter is intended for "Luisa." The map by Gastaldi, found in Ramusio's third volume of 1556, follows the Verrazano outline more closely, though, through a mistake of the Engraver, who blunders twice, "Brisa" becomes "Briso," while the island loses its triangular form. In the same volume of Ramusio is a map that relates to Parmentier's voyage to the East Indies, 1529, when he named three islands, respectively, "La Parmentiere," "La Marguerite" and "La Louise," in honor, first of

himself, and afterwards of the sister and mother of Francis I. Two of the names appear in the map as "La lauyse" and "La formetie" (Vitel's "Histoire," II, 88). Thus the Regent had *two* islands named in her honor. Gastaldi's map of 1556 evidently was intended to illustrate the Letter of Verrazano.

Two years later, Homem, at Venice, drew a map which again recalled the Verrazano Map, through Gastaldi, and by means of the names "Monte de Trigo" and "Golesme" for "Angolesme." The Island of Luisa and the "Port of Refuge" are delineated, but their names are omitted. Again, in 1561, Ruscelli reproduced, substantially, a copy of Gastaldi's map of 1548. In these maps there is no reference to the name of Verrazano, though his voyage is recognized by the nomenclature.

We next come to Mercator's map of 1569, when the plan is found to be entirely different, this evidently being in accordance with those of his work which, according to Willes, *did* open a gulf between "the West Indies and the extreme northern line." Willes (Hakluyt, III, 25) mentions that the globes of the Italian Moletius, whom he associates with Mercator, possessed the same features. This map of 1569 shows all the new discoveries in the North, but leaves the Atlantic coast line in a poorer condition than in 1541. Mercator had now seen the map of Ruscelli and Gastaldi in the Ptolemies and in Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, and he allowed himself to be overruled by them. Accordingly he placed the indented coast and the Island of "Briso" where the mistakes of Gastaldi and Ramusio had located them, near Cape Breton, and omitted his former representations of the coast covering the line between New Jersey and New York. In the place of this he left a great bay occupying the space that should have been given to the outlines of Long Island and the New England coast. He was nevertheless true to the Verrazano idea, as expressed both in the Map and Letter. This is an important point, for he had now read the Letter and was reassured of the fact that there should be a triangular shaped island near latitude $41^{\circ} 40' N.$, also that the region should be made approachable by water from the West. He accordingly laid the island down, with Norumbega at the West, in common with Allefonsce, calling this island "Claudia," instead of Luisa, giving the name of the wife and not the mother of Francis I. The origin of the names "Briso" and "Claudia" on the map of Mercator is therefore perfectly clear. In the future this map may be remembered for its *double* representation of the Island of Luisa and the Verrazano Voyage.

Finally we proceed to England, and learn that a map was presented

to Henry VIII. by Verrazano. A sketch by Lok, based upon this map, appears in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" of 1582. It is numbered VIII. in our list of sketches.

In support of his theory of a northern passage, Hakluyt says in that work: "Master John Verazanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an old and excellent mappe which he gave to King Henrie Eight, and is yet in the custodie of Master Locke, doth so lay it out as seene in the map annexed to the end of this booke, being made according to Verazanus plat." In a work lately published by the Maine Historical Society, Hakluyt also says that "there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchment, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, makinge a little neck of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much like the streyte necke or istmus of Dariena. This mappe is now in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke." Again he says, "there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallery at Westminster, which also seemeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe sides, as it doth on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singular importannce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely."

The map of Lok, which Hakluyt says was based upon Verrazano's, shows evidence of the Verrazano Voyage by the inscription "Mare de Verrarsana, 1524," placed over an open sea west of the isthmus in latitude 40° N. That this date was given by Lok, as several others were, is not proven, though probably true; but to say that Verrazano could not have claimed or suggested the discovery of an open sea, because no sea existed, would be indefensible, for the reason that it might be affirmed with equal propriety that Frobisher could not have claimed the discovery of an open sea leading to Cathay, though he made this claim absolutely "with vehement words, speeches and oaths," and "by the discovery of a new world, was become a second Columbus" (Calendar of Colonial S. Papers, 1513-16, p. 58). Frobisher's Strait is laid down by Lok on the map showing the Verrazano Sea, and is found on Frobisher's own curious and rare map of 1578, covering from twelve to fifteen degrees of latitude. Both of these fancied seas grew out of real voyages. That of Verrazano was in accordance with his geographical ideas, and may have been suggested by the natives, who were continually representing an open sea at the West. Popham in 1607 wrote to

King James from Sagadahoc, Maine, not only that "nutmegs and cinnamon" were found, but that the colonists were within a short distance of the Pacific. His letter, given in the Maine Collections (Vol. V., s. 1., p. 360), contains the following: "So far as relate to commerce, there are in these parts shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood, and Brasilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products of great value, and these in the greatest abundance. Besides, they positively assure me that there is a sea in the opposite or Western part of this Province, distant not more than seven days' journey from our Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc, a sea large, wide and deep, the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant of. This cannot be any other than the Southern Ocean, reaching to the region of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these regions."

This notion prevailed down to a comparatively late period. In 1651 Stephenson published "*Nevv Brittanie*," containing a very curious map, in which the Hudson River is represented as running to the Pacific, while the region of Georgia is represented as no wider than the distance on the Atlantic coast from Cape Hatteras to Cape Charles.

On the space appropriated to the Pacific is written "the Sea of China and the Indies," near which is a portrait of Sir Francis Drake. The legend upon the coast is as follows:

"Sir Francis Drake was on this sea and landed An^o 1577 in 37 deg. where her tooke Possession in the name of Q: Eliza: calling it new Albion. Whose happy shoers, (in ten dayes march with 50 foote and 30 horsemen from the head of Iames River, ouer those hills and through the rich adjacent Valleys beautified with as profitable rivers, which necessarily must run into ye peacefull Indian Sea, may be discovered, to the exceeding benefit of Great Brittain, and joye of all true English." Such was the view of the English at this late period, who fancied that a tract of land not more than two hundred and fifty miles wide existed between the head of the James River and the sea. Verrazano undoubtedly believed the notion, and even may have fancied that he saw the sea. To object to the authenticity of his voyage for this reason would be idle.

In order to show the bearing of Lok's map upon the Voyage, it is necessary to consider the method of its construction. Using a copy of the Verrazano Map in some respects different, perhaps, from the Roman copy, yet substantially the same, and furnished as we know with the Italian names, Lok employed what best suited his purpose, which was the illustration of his theory of a western passage to Cathay, at the same time introducing fancied improvements. Following the incorrect rep-

resentation of Cape Breton, he nevertheless amended all the latitudes, while the outline of the New England coast is noticeable for its resemblance to Gastaldi's, evidently drawn from a copy of the Verrazano Map, possessing variations similar to those on the map of Henry VIII. The island of Gastaldi, called "Briso" through the fault of the engraver, is called "Claudia" by Lok; but the *relative position* is the same in both maps, the island lying west of the Gulf of Refuge, which contains other islands, with two separate islands eastward, while further west is the region called, on the other maps, "Angouleme." Lok, like Gastaldi, makes Norumbega insular. Lok changes names, but delineates the corresponding *things*. He changes the shape and position assigned to the island of Luisa by Mercator, though he adopts the name of Claudia, instead of Luisa. He also rejects the error of Mercator in duplicating the island. Lok understood perfectly well that the two islands, called by Mercator Claudia and Briso, were the same. He indeed supposes that Claudia was the correct name for the mother of Francis, but Hakluyt knew that Lok was in error; and, in the margin of the Verrazano Letter, says, "Claudia was the wife of King Francis," thus correcting Lok, not Verrazano. Therefore, until it can be shown that not only the *name* of Luisa but the *island itself* was wanting in the map of Henry VIII, it will be useless to deny that that map, like the Propaganda copy, contained a clear recognition of the Voyage.

If it should be said that Lok *did* take the island, as well as the name, from Mercator, it may also be said that he copied the Azores from Mercator, and therefore that the Azores were not in the map of Henry VIII. It is too late now, however, to pursue such a line of disputation, as the reality of the influence of the Verrazano Map throughout a long period is something that in the future may not be denied.

It remains to make few observations concerning the nomenclature of the map, which, however, will demand continued study in the future. The names are about one hundred in number, and some of them are repeated, in accordance with the practice of old cartographers. On the Florida section the influence of the names on the map of 1513 is noticeable. Several of the names are not easily explained, though "Olimpo" is probably Cape Olimpe, in Cyprus. "La Victoria" is a name used upon the South America portion of the map. It is a reminiscence of Magellan. Proceeding up the coast, it will be perceived that various names are suggested by the Letter of the Navigator, and have a manifest fitness. Near the Gulf of St. Lawrence is "Baia Sancti di Ioanni." At this point the map of Allefonsce has a relation to that of Verrazano,

showing "Isle de Saint Johan." Some of the names of the Newfoundland section are not quite legible on the original map, and where doubtful readings occur, they have been indicated. The significance of the most of the names, however, is apparent at a glance; "farilhan" being the "Farralones," or detached rocks, a name found in every part of the world in various forms, but with a single meaning. "Monte de Trigo," is the Spanish for wheat. In the voyage of Cartier (Hakluyt, III, 213) there is a reference to this mountain, described as a "hill like a heap of corn." Fuoco is Fire Island.

About twenty of the names found on the central portions of the coast are French, more or less disguised in an Italian dress. But the author soon perceived the fact that they were taken from a route of travel across France from Dieppe to La Rochelle, a route with which Hieronimo was acquainted, as it is sufficiently evident that he passed some time in France, probably in attending to the interests of his brother. Beginning at Dieppe, the route passes Longueville and St. George, touches at Rouen, where Giovanni had provided for the recognition of Jerome, his "brother and heir," as his commissioner and "attorney." Thence the road runs direct to San Germano, or St. Germain-en-laye, the favorite residence of Francis I., whose name was associated with the principal places mentioned. The Forest of St. Germaine, one of the largest in France, was perhaps in mind when Hieronimo wrote "La Foresta" upon his map, though at the same time he must have remembered the splendid forests described in the Letter. "Lamuetto" may have been suggested by the *muette*, or famous kennel built by Francis I. in the forest, though a village of the name still exists. "Belvidere" might perhaps recall the terrace of St. Germaine, which commands the celebrated view of Paris. "Casino," or the little house, if one were inclined to indulge the imagination, might have referred to one of the pavillions,⁴ but Casino is also connected with San Germano in Italy. Selva de Cervi recalls the deer parks of Francis in the "Selva Ledia," as well as the deer parks of America. Around St. Germaine the two brothers may have lingered from time to time, awaiting the decisions of Francis respecting the expeditions that interested him so greatly.

Next the route passes to Vendome, a place famous for its connection with the family of Francis I.; thence on by the way of St. Anne, St. Savin and Mont Morrillon, the latter signifying the black grape, which appears to have been translated into the Italian "Morrelo," or nightshade. Afterwards Nantiat is reached—in the map called Lanun-

tiate, which may refer also to the festival of the Annunciation, which occurred while Giovanni was on the coast. Thence the road touches Angoulême, the birth place of Francis, who was called by Louis XII. "Le gros garçon d'Angoulême." Next we find St. Savinien and Aux-prunelles, conducting to La Rochelle, the Navigator being described by Herrera as "Florin de la Rochelle." Names like San Siano and San Gorgio doubtless had Italian connections, yet it is curious to observe how these names, taken together, indicate the route between the two great seaports of France. The nomenclature, therefore, is similar to what might have been expected from an Italian some time resident in France, where, in the sunshine of royal favor, Hieronimo probably compiled his map, at the same time attending to the interests of his brother. The Navigator's "little book" doubtless afforded suggestions to Jerome. "Le figlia di navarra" appears to refer to the King of Navarre, the husband of Margurite of Angoulême, sister of Francis I. It might also be considered a recognition of Margurite herself, as she was acquainted with American exploration, and based one of her stories upon incidents in the voyage of Roberval.

This same route of travel is indicated upon the globe of Vlpus, 1542, which was copied from the Verrazano Map. In this series we have the additional names of Normanvilla, near Dieppe, and Port Royal, the home of the Jansenists favored by Margurite; while on Ramusio's map of 1556 is found "Paradis," the name of Margurite's Hebrew teacher.

Ramusio in 1553 said that Oviedo (who rejected Ribero) and some "excellent Frenchmen" had sent maps to Italy, and that they would be put in their proper place with some reports of New France, amongst which no doubt was the Verrazano Letter. The reports were not printed until three years after, and possibly other maps were in the meanwhile acquired. But whether so or not, a sketch of the Verrazano Map was used in the map of 1556. Jerome doubtless left sketches with the French navigators. In this connection it must, however, be observed that the use of the Verrazano Map by Ramusio was anticipated no less than *fourteen years* by the Florentine globe maker. It is, therefore, probable that the drawings, which appeared to have been received by Ramusio about the year 1553, were those which related to Cartier. The sketch published by him in 1556 makes no mention of Cartier, while the fact that Canada is left blank shows that it was drawn at an early period, before that region was known. We, therefore, may claim Ramusio's map, in one sense, as a Verrazano Map.

Some of the sketches by the "excellent Frenchmen" were used in France, simultaneously with their appearance in Italy, in 1542. The great map of Henry II. (see Jomard's Atlas) bears eight of the Verrazano names in a modified form, as follows: C. du Mont, R. des canoes, R. de bône Viste, Les Germaines, Auorobaga, C. de longue, R. hermofo, Môt de trigo. To these might be added; R. des Palmes and R. de bône mere. The maker of this map appears to have known of the "Syrtis" of Verrazano.

Dr. Kohl, not being acquainted with the Verrazano Map, did not understand the origin of Ramusio's, while for the same reason others have made the most of what was supposed to be a fact, namely, that the French map of 1542, drawn in the time of Francis I., contained no reminiscence of the Voyage of Verrazano. The identification of these names, however, should moderate the objector's zeal.

Botero (*Ralationi Universali*, ed. 1640, p. 173) says that the French gave the names "porto del refugio, Porto reale, il Paradiso, Flora, Angoleme." It would thus appear that he had seen a Verrazano Map, or the globe of Vlpus, and perhaps both. The authority for his statement is not given, but whether he had any authority or not, it is sufficiently true, since the names resulted from a French voyage.

With this brief description and defense of the Map of Verrazano, we rest the present discussion. In treating of the names we have confined ourselves to those found upon the North American portions. In due time it is to be hoped that the entire map may be produced in *fac simile*, since it merits at least that much attention on the part of geographers. No subsequent examination of the Map, however, will be likely to render the American names much clearer. Acids applied to the parchment might perhaps make the orthography of several words a little more distinct, but those about which there can be any real doubt are beyond question quite unimportant. Our own readings have been confirmed by the independent judgment of two very competent ecclesiastics and scholars, resident at Rome, to whom the writer is indebted for his introduction to the priceless maps of the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda. The reader may not therefore look forward to any substantial improvement in the rendering of the coast names upon the Verrazano sketch accompanying this discussion. The modern student now for the first time sees before his eyes, "traced all along the coaste from Florida to Cape Britton," the "many Italian names" that met the wondering gaze of Henry VIII., of Michael Lok and Richard Hakluyt, as they bent over the "mightie large olde mappe" which, as the latter

informs us, was made by Verrazano. Whether the copy preserved at Rome is the original map or not, it may now be difficult to determine. If not original, is beyond doubt a fair copy of a very early date. That a copy was presented to Henry VIII. can no longer be questioned. There is found on the map the kind of ships, with both sails and oars, that were built in the Breton ports at the time (July 12, 1522), when Andrew, Bishop of Murray, Scotland, according to Gaillard (*Histoire François Premier, VII, 223-4*), exhorted Francis I. to make himself master of the sea; but what is more to the point, a variety of facts and arguments concur in proving that Hakluyt's testimony is true, and that we have before us a copy of a very ancient document, marked by all the peculiarities of authenticity. The historic world may, therefore, possibly incline to believe that it has not waited until now in vain for the Propaganda to yield up its testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano.

In closing we desire to call attention to a few points which have been substantiated in discussing the Letter, the Voyage and the Map. With respect to the Letter, it has been made to appear that it certainly existed in two version—Ramusio's and Carli's—and probably in French and Spanish; strong reasons even lead to the conclusion that the original version was written in French. Again, by a comparison of texts, the charges against Ramusio have been dissipated. With respect to the date of the Letter, the discussion yields fresh proof, and establishes the fact that it was written at the period claimed. Now, also, that the contents of the Map are known, we are able to prove that the Map was based upon the Letter; and since a copy of the Map itself was presented to Henry VIII. by Giovanni da Verrazano, the Letter must have existed prior to 1527-8; thus disposing of the theory that it was the work of a forger near 1540-5. In dealing with the Voyage, it has been shown that it could not have been deduced from the map of Ribero, 1527, as physical impossibilities interfered; the same also being apparent from the fact just stated, that the Letter preceded the Map presented to Henry VIII., 1527-8, and, therefore, that both Letter and Map described the Voyage before the work of Ribero existed. The internal evidence of the Letter to the authenticity of the Voyage has also been developed, showing the inaccuracy of the charge that the descriptions of the country and people found in the Letter do not agree with what actually existed; since it has been shown that the accounts are at variance with those of untravelled European writers of those times, and convey facts that could have been gleaned only by an actual voyager, like Verrazano, in sailing along the coast, the descriptions often being so striking as to be copied

by subsequent adventurers, and being full, also, with respect to those parts of the coast of which nothing was known.

The genesis of the Map has likewise been pointed out for the first time, and the chart of Hieronimo da Verrazano takes its proper place in the old Cartology within about three years of the date of the Voyage; while its influence upon later maps has been rendered apparent in a way that was impossible before the Verrazano coast names were made known. Thus, at every point, there is exhibited the action of a strong and intelligent mind in free communication with the new world, and we therefore claim that Verrazano is Vindicated.

¹ This is now published for the first time, the copy having been made for the writer by authorization of the Prefect of Rouen.

² *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 145, and the Chart, numbered 118, in the Atlas. Also, see "Examen Critique," vol. iv, pp. 116-18.

³ It is given in a modified form, and the north-east portion, called "Terra de Lavoratore," is formed according to the Map of Cosa, or from some map that agreed with Cosa's. But why did Bordone adopt Zeno's Greenland as America? To explain this fully would require more space than can be given to the subject at present, and it must suffice to say that in 1521 the knowledge of Old Greenland had been lost (Northmen in Maine, p. 38) and Zeno's account of that country was partially discredited, the view given by Ptolemy being adopted by Bordone, as later, and consequently the more reliable. Both the pre and post-Columbian editions of Ptolemy made Greenland a part of Europe, pushing out into the sea from Norway. Bordone followed this conception, thinking that Zeno was wrong in placing the name of Greenland upon the countries at the west. That he actually saw the Zeno map in 1521 or earlier is not only evident from the outlines of his own map, filled in with mountains after the style of Zeno, but also from his drawing of Iceland, or "Islanda." The style of the letters forming the word "Islanda" are exactly like those of Zeno, and the curious and convincing fact is that Bordone uses the same style of letter in *no other map*. Whoever examines this subject will find the most decided proof that Bordone was familiar with the Zeno Chart in 1521, which overturns the theory that that map was a forgery of the period of 1558. Bordone's, which shows a strait opening through the Western Continent, near the latitude of the Azores, marked "Stretto pte del mondo novo;" "the strait, part of the New World." The region south of this strait bore the title of the New World, which had been laid open by the Spaniards, it being thus conceded by him that Zeno made the discovery of land at the West. The testimony of Bordone is all the more valuable, for the reason that it is *indirect*. This geographer makes no allusion to Zeno, and evidently had not seen his narrative, though familiar with the map.

⁴ The Italian photographer of the Verrazano Map gave one of these names, written upon the photograph, as "p. dara Flor," which might be interpreted "punta de la Florida;" but our own reading is "p. daraptor," probably a mangling of "C. delitontir on the map of 1513, which, in turn, was a false reading of "C. elecanti," or "Aliconto." "Lamette" once appears as "bomutto," an error easily recognized.

⁵ Geographers must keep clear of Fluellen at Agincourt (Henry V., A. iv, s. 5): "I warrant you shall find in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river at Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river, but 'tis all one; 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both."

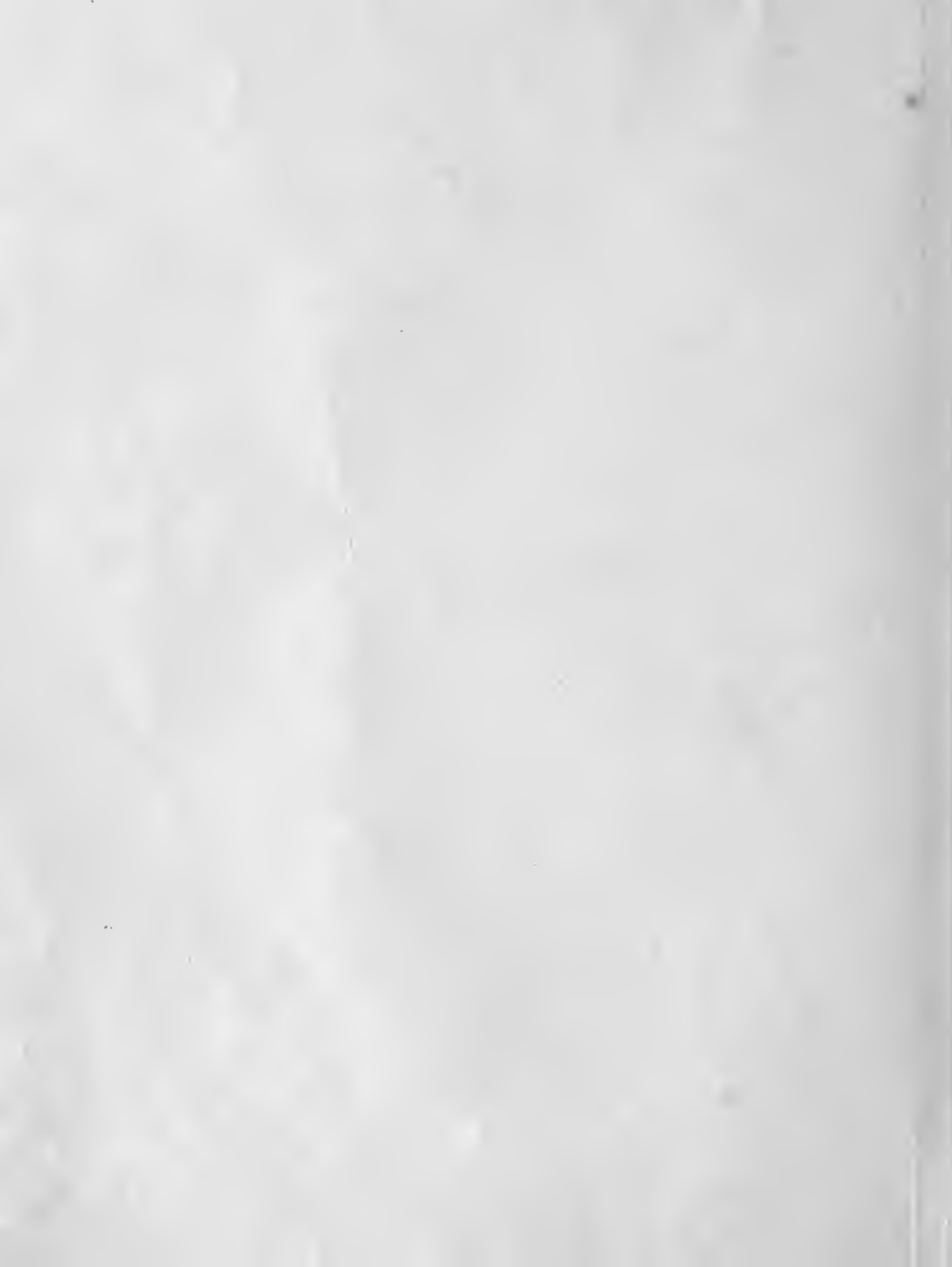
⁶ "Heptameron," Story, lxvii, relates the alleged experience of a wife left with her husband by Roberval on a desert island. It was vulgarized and adopted by Thevet. "Cosmographie Universelle," ii, p. 1019. See also Harrise's "Notes," etc.

THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the Italian people, were regarded in many respects as palmy days. At that flourishing period many of the sons of Italy proved themselves worthy of their noble origin; and as the ancient Romans built highways of marvelous magnitude upon the land, the modern Italians opened the distant paths of the sea. Columbus was inspired by the spirit of Cæsar, though while the one conquered with the astrolabe and compass, the other prevailed with the sword. America does not recognize the debt which she owes to the pent up cities of the Italian peninsula, whose inhabitants, inspired by an irrepressible ardor, went forth to transform what was a "Sea of Darkness" into a Sea of Light. The desire to abolish *Ultima Thule*, and make good the prophecy of Seneca, animated all classes of society. Even the monk in his cloister labored to furnish the sailor with the best aids that nautical and geographical science could supply. Andrea Bianco gave his charts with reminiscences of long-forgotten voyages, and Toscanelli added to other gifts conferred by him upon Columbus reasons for believing that the east could be reached by sailing west. At an early period the Genoese sent out expeditions upon the Atlantic (Gravier's "*Navigations Européennes*," etc., p. 5), but for the most part the Italian navigators engaged in the service of nations more favorably situated for the conduct of maritime enterprise. Amongst others, Marco Polo, Ordericus and Vertomanus distinguished themselves in the east, while in the year 1380 the Zeno Brothers were wrecked in the northern sea, Antonio Zeno himself, as the best authorities now admit, reaching Greenland and the coast of North America. It remained, however, for Columbus to impart a practical value to the labors of his predecessors, though Amerigo Vespucci was immortalized by the Monks of St. Dié, who gave his name to our continent, saying, that since the old continents were named after women, the new one should be called after a man.

While Columbus was active, John Cabot, the Venitian, and his son Sebastian, were pursuing the same absorbing objects, the elder Cabot, indeed, having seen the mainland of America before Columbus. Other Italians performed their part, Pigafetti sailing around the world in the

[illegible]







expedition of Magellan, of which he was the historiographer. Amongst those less known was the learned priest and mathematician, Albert De Prato, the friend and correspondent of Cardinal Wolsey. Verrazano shed permanent lustre upon his nation by his exploration of the north Atlantic coast. The first tourist to visit and describe this country was Benzoni, also an Italian; and the Venitian, Ramusio, taught our own great Hakluyt how to record and treasure up the achievements of explorers and navigators for the benefit of mankind. Purchas gives his quaint testimony on this point, exclaiming: "Happy Italy, that first, in the last Age of the World hath discovered the great Discoverers of the World." Yet what benefit has Italy derived from all these toils? The largest tribute received from America is found in the aspersion of her citizens, and, notably, those of her fairest and most enlightened Capital. Well may Purchas turn to present the obverse of the picture, and say: "Unhappie Italy, that still hath beaten the bush for others to catch the Bird, and hast inherited nothing in these Easterne and Western Worldes." (V. 807.)

The present paper, however, is devoted, not to the Italian sailors, but to a work by one who sought to register the achievements of his compatriots in an enduring form. The Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpus, constructed in 1542, is now preserved in the museum of the New York Historical Society, having been found in Madrid by the late Buckingham Smith. This important and deeply interesting instrument was discovered in the collections of a Spanish dealer in 1859, and brought to New York the same year, after the death of its owner, being purchased for the society by the late John David Wolfe.

This globe is fifteen and one half inches in diameter, and is supported upon a worm-eaten stand of oak, the iron cross tipping the north pole, making the height of the instrument three feet and eight inches. The northern and southern hemispheres were constructed separately. They shut together like a spherical box, being held firmly by iron pins. Everything is done in accordance with the best science of the age, and proves that the globe was intended for careful use. The latitudes are found by the nicely graduated copper equator, upon which the names of the zodiacal signs are engraved; while the equatorial line of the globe itself has the longitude divided into sections covering five degrees each. Four distinct meridional lines divide the globe into quarters, while four more lines are faintly indicated. The latitudes are found by the aid of a brass meridian, the Tropic of Cancer being called *ÆSTIVVS*, and Capricorn, *HYEMALIS*. The Arctic and Antarctic circles are also faintly

indicated. A brass hour-circle enables the student to ascertain the difference of time between any two given points, while the graduated path of the Ecliptic is a prominent and indispensable aid. The author of the globe evidently intended to secure simplicity of arrangement throughout. The date of the globe is fixed by the following inscription:



The literal translation runs as follows: "Regions of the Terrestrial globe handed down by ancients, or discovered in our memory or that of our fathers. Delineated by Euphrosynus Vlpius, 1542."

Of Vlpius nothing is positively known. The name has no prominence amongst the map and globe makers of Italy. The resemblance of the globe to that planned by Mercator, 1541, taken with the fact that Mercator and the Italian, Moletius, were in a sense associated, might possibly lead us to inquire whether or not Moletius had any influence in connection with the production of the work of Vlpius. Hakluyt's reference to "an olde excellent globe in the Queen's privie gallery at Westminster," which "seemeth to be of Verarsanus making" (Maine Coll. s. 2. v. II. p. 114), is also of interest, for, like the globe of Vlpius,

it had "the Coaste described in Italian," and a "necke of lande in the latitude of 40." Possibly the Globe of Vlpus is the globe which is here described. Nevertheless, the globe is of Italian workmanship, and apparently made in Rome. It is dedicated to Cervinus:



This may be rendered: "Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal-Presbyter and Doctor of Divinity of the Holy Roman Church. Rome." The wheat or barley heads appear to have formed a device in the family arms, as they are given with his portrait, while the Deer form a proper allusion to his name.

The present representation of one hemisphere of the globe, without being a *fac simile*, is nevertheless sufficiently correct for historical purposes, and may be relied upon. The Old and New Worlds are represented as they were known at the time, the latitude of Florida, which was too high on the Verrazano Map, being given quite correctly, while the excessive easterly trend of the North American coast line on that map is corrected.

This work is of great historical interest, for the reason that it bears direct and independent testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano in 1524, certified first by the Letter of Verrazano to Francis I., confirmed by Carli, and attested by the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano; this witness being followed by the author of the Discourse of the Dieppe

Captain, in 1539. Vlpus, in 1542, stands as the fifth witness to the voyage by the following inscription: "*Verrazana sive Nova Gallia a Verrazano Florentino comperto anno Sal. M. D.*," which may be rendered: "Verrazana or New Gaul, discovered by Verrazano, the Florentine, in the year of Salvation, M. D." That this inscription was suggested by the Verrazano Map no one has ever questioned. The principal adverse critic of Verrazano frankly concedes that the Globe of Vlpus "affords indubitable evidence that the maker had consulted the map." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 114.) Nevertheless attention has been called to the fact that, in an appendix to his work, the same critic refers to what is called an "authority," which says that the Map of Verrazano was originated sometime after 1550. If this were so, it would appear that the Verrazano Map was based upon the Globe of Vlpus in connection with certain maps, and that, instead of having influenced the production of other maps, it is itself a composition made up of early material. We are, therefore, obliged here to glance at a question which really answers itself.

The declaration is: "We are assured from Rome, on high authority, that this map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550, and is regarded by its custodians as only a copy at the best." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," Appendix.) Here are two statements; First, that the map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550—otherwise, that it originated then; Second, that, at the best, it is only a copy. With regard to the first proposition it may be said, that an examination of the map reveals the fact that it shows no exploration of a period later than 1529, while it affords a fair picture of discovery down to that year. If, therefore, this map was planned subsequent to 1550, the author must have intended to produce what would have the appearance of an early map, or otherwise, a fraud. But again, if this map was simply the fraudulent invention of an Italian during the last half of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to inquire how it happens that the draughtsman produced a map patterned after the map described by Hakluyt, as respects size and composition, for both answer to the description of "mightie large" map, and both have the Isthmus, together with the Italian names on the coast of North America.

That the two maps were of the same character, appears from other considerations; for, in whatsoever Hakluyt may have erred, he could not have referred any parchment to Verrazano that did not show decided signs of age. Hakluyt had a full acquaintance with the period of Verrazano, and had learned from Ramusio the approximate

time of his death, which, at the furthest, could not have taken place much later than 1530. He knew the precise character of the maps of 1529, and when he affirmed that the map was "*olde*," he believed that the character of the work justified the statement that it was presented by the Florentine Navigator to Henry VIII. He does not say that the globe was presented to that king, and therefore we can claim for the map alone that it existed some time near the year 1529. Such, then, being the facts, it is simply without reason to say that the Propaganda Map was designed subsequent to 1550, in the interest of a historical fraud. At that period the designs had been in existence a long time, and could not have been produced as part of a fraud. Whoever declares that this map belongs to the late period named must find his claim to be an authority absolutely denied.

Still, perhaps, it may be asked why the Propaganda Map could not have been framed subsequent to 1550, taking the Globe of Vlpnius, 1542, as a model, and with an honest intention. This could not have been the case, for the reason that the more recent explorations shown by Vlpnius are ignored. Any honest map-maker, projecting a new map, would give discoveries down to his time. If, therefore, the Propaganda Map was based upon the globe, the map as already declared, must be a fraud, and we are again confronted with the question, How did a fraudulent draughtsman frame a map like that in England, with its isthmus and western sea, which Lok in evident recognition of a legend corresponding with the legend of the Propaganda Map, called "Mare de Verrazano"? Again, it would also be necessary to inquire where Vlpnius obtained *his* plan. To argue the subject farther is needless, since it is so evident the two maps and two globes are indissolubly connected, the two existing mementoes of the Verrazano Voyage having their counterparts in the map and globe described by Hakluyt in England. The introduction of the "authority" from Rome is, therefore, unfortunate for the objector, since it suggests a line of defence for the Propaganda Map that otherwise might not have been presented. A paleographic commission may pronounce upon the date of the map, basing its opinion upon the character of the chirography; but whatever may be its conclusion, no material point in the Verrazano controversy will probably be affected, since, whether a copy or an original, its value remains, and cannot be lessened without the discovery of some evidence to prove that the copy was not well done. Under the circumstances, however, any commission that undertakes to declare that the map was fraudulently projected at a period subsequent to 1550 for acceptance as

a document of 1529 would stultify itself. The Map of Verrazano antedated the Globe of Vlpplus, and the influence of the former upon cartology may not be questioned.

It will be observed that Vlpplus does not give the exact date of the discovery by Verrazano, and the fact has led to the suggestion that Marcellus was not able to determine the year. That he tried to learn the exact date there is no proof. The explanation of the omission is sufficiently simple, for the Verrazano Map is undated.

It will doubtless prove of interest to note upon this map the line running from pole to pole and cutting through the border of South America. This is the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI., by which, in 1493, he gave away the New World to Spain. That nation, according to his decree, was entitled to lands discovered by them west of the line, while the Portuguese were to confine their new possessions to the region east of the line, inscribed, "*Terminus Hispanis et Lusitanis ab Alexandro VI. P. M. assignatus*," or, "The Boundary of Spain and Portugal assigned by Alexander VI., Supreme Pontiff."

This was done at a time when the Papal power was no shadow, yet the Holy See was often set at naught, and many were the bitter contests that sprang up between the rival powers. From Bernal Diaz we learn that Francis I., communicating with the Emperor of Spain, and speaking of the division made between Spain and Portugal, said "he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of these countries." The "will" does not appear to have been produced, and certainly was never probated. Francis, therefore, took the liberty of sending Verrazano and Cartier to North America.

On the North American section of the globe various new points are indicated, and the advance of the Spaniards in New Mexico is noticeable. This part of the continent is called "Verrazana, sive Nova Gallia," while on the Verrazano Map is found, "Ivcatania." Purchas says (V. 807), that South America was called "Peruviana," and North America, "Mexicana;" which explains the action of Hieronimo da Verrazano, who employs the name of Yucatan in accordance with the same principle.

At the northwest, near Alaska, is "Tagv Provincia," the "Tangut" of Marco Polo (C. 58), the coast being joined to Asia. The peninsula of Lower California does not appear, though exploration had been extended to that region, as proved by Domingo del Castillo, on his map of 1541. (Lorenzana "*Historia de Nueva España*," 1770, p. 328.)

Amongst the evidences of the Spanish advance is the name of "Civola" in New Mexico. This is a reference to the "Seven Cities of Cibola," which were credited with such vast wealth, it being declared that the houses were supported by massive pillars of crystal and gold. Modern explorers find it difficult to fix upon the sites of the ancient cities. (*Ternaux Compans*; with De Nagerus narrative, 1838; and Hakluyt III., 362.) The wealth of Cibola eventually became the subject of sport, as was the case respecting the whole continent, at first supposed to be a part of the East Indies, and remarkably auriferous. Hence Shakespere, in the Comedy of Errors, where he grossly describes the kitchen-wench, who was "spherical like a globe," so that one could "find out countries in her," makes Antipolus ask: "Where America, the Indies?" Dromio of Syracuse replies: "O, Sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole Armadas of Carracks to be ballast at her nose." (A. III. s. 2.)

Nova Galitia, a region conquered by Gusman (Alcedo's "*Diccionario Geográfico*," II. 177), is seen to the southward; and, in its proper place, in the middle of a lake, the city of Mexico may be recognized. South America is styled "Novvs Myndus," and presents a very lively picture. From the Straits of Magellan to Chinca, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn, the coast is marked "Terra Incognita." Peru is called New Castile, and is said to be auriferous and fertile. "Gvito," or Quito, happens to be placed nearly in the centre of the continent, and close by we read, "*Domus olim ex solido auri*," or, The House formerly of solid gold. This may be a reference to El Dorado.

A large portion of the country is abandoned to "Anthropophagi" and "Canibales." Near Patagonia is the "Terra de giganti." The giants themselves are wanting, like Raleigh's men with heads in their breasts, notwithstanding we are told by Pigafetti and other voyagers that there was a plenty of giants in those days; yet, further north, the chamelon roost upon a broad-leaved plant, and still higher up, one of the tall ostriches, recently described by Darwin, is trying to exhibit himself, using as a pedestal the house formerly of solid gold.

In Brazil the aborigines appear in the scant wardrobe which they were accustomed to affect, and display, on the whole, what may be regarded as an animated disposition. A couple of Brazilians, broad ax in hand, are on the point of taking off a fellow being's head, while a third, with a knife, is artistically dressing a leg. Near by, two other amiable representatives of the tribe are engaged in turning a huge spit,

upon which, comfortably trussed up, is another superfluous neighbor, whom the blazing fire is transmuting into an acceptable roast. The parrot, evidently an edified spectator, gazes placidly down from its perch in the tree. Such was life in *Novvs Mvndvs* in 1542. The Amazon and the La Platta Rivers appear, but Vlpus does not show any clear knowledge of the Orinoco seen by Pinzon.

No true indication of the terminus of the continent is given, but south of the Straits of Magellan is seen a vast continent spreading around the pole. This imaginary continent was referred to in classic times as "*Austrinis Pars*." (*Manilus "Astronomica,"* B. I. l. 234.) Its existence was considered probable, for the reason that it seemed to be required in order to maintain the balance of land and water. "*Regio Patalis*," a part of this continent, lies southwesterly from the Straits of Magellan, the name perhaps having been transferred from the coast of Africa.

In the more easterly portion of this continent is written, "*Terra Australis adhuc incompta*," being an unexplored region, while in passing around the border of this continent we come to "Brasieeli," a corruption of "Brazil," a name applied to an island in the Atlantic before the discovery of America. On the Globe of Schoner, 1520, it is called "Brazilia Inferior."

On a peninsula, a part of which appears in our representation of the globe, may be found the following inscription: "*Lusitani ultra promontorium bone spei i Calicutium tendentes hanc terra viderut, veru non accesserut, quaobrem neq nos certi quidq afferre potuimus;*" "The Portuguese, sailing beyond the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta, saw this land but did not reach it, wherefore, neither have we been able to assert anything with certainty."

The Old World is depicted substantially as it appeared in the Ptolemies. With respect to the East Indies, a clear improvement is made upon the Verrazano Map. Vlpus, in common with Verrazano, exhibits the great lakes of Central Africa, recently rediscovered.

Near the bank of the Nile a robed ecclesiastic sits upon a canopied throne with a triple crown upon his brow and a triple cross in his hand. The figure is explained by the legend, "*Hic dñat psbit Iohanes*," or "Here rules Presbyter John," usually called "Prester." Of human subjects he appears to have none, and his lordly supremacy seems to concern the sagacious elephant, the winged dragon, the scaly crocodile, the fierce rhinoceros, the unruly hippopotamus, and certain long-necked birds, one of which is engaged in some performance not described by

Herodotus. Prester John has been regarded as a king in Thibet, but the Portuguese claim that he was a convert to the Nestorian faith in Abyssinia. (Purchas, V. 734.)

In Asia may be seen a multitude of cities and provinces. Canton is figured as a collection of houses, near which is a bird, in company with a couple of goats with ears that reach to the ground. A tiger, a leopard and a giraffe exhaust the animal kingdom.

Upon the ocean all is life, animation and enterprise. Tall ships, laden with the wealth of "Ormuz and of Ind," move bravely homeward with bellying sails, while light galleys glide gaily hither and thither around the borders of the newly found lands. The fish form a noticeable feature, and Leviathan displays his huge sides, even that

"Leviathan, which God of all His works
Created hugest, that swim the ocean stream."

The Conger eel, without much regard to the proprieties, stretches complacently over several degrees of latitude, herein following the example of the gold fish (*Aurata*), which puffs itself up to half the size of the whale. The Kraken of Pontoppidan, or at least what resembles the sea-serpent of Nahant, appears in the Atlantic off South Africa, corrugating his hirsute back. Vlpus, like Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, may have taken a scientific view of the subject; yet whatever may have been his opinion, he could not have expressed a poorer view than that of the writer in "*Nature*" (Sept. 5th, 1878), who resolves the sea-serpent into a flock of birds. The Whale (*Balena*) is not so well executed as the rest, and is attended by the Dolphin (*Orca*), also called Marsuin by the French. (Ramusio III, 419.)

The fish represented upon the globe are so well done that they might claim a full and separate treatment, evidently belonging to the earliest scientific delineations in Ichthyology. The first book on Fish perhaps was that of Paul Jovius (Rome, 1524), but it contains no illustrations. It is possible that no illustrated work appeared prior to 1542. Jovius sent out his work from the Vatican, with which he was connected. Ichthyological studies appear to have been pursued with diligence at Rome, where Salvinus published his book in 1554. The fish upon the globe bear a close resemblance to those of Rondelatus (Lugduni, 1554). On globes and maps prior to 1542 may be found a variety of uncouth marine monsters, but correct representations of fish are scarce.

Besides the historic groups of islands, there are many of lesser note, together with a few not found to-day. East of Cape St. Roque is "De Ferna Loronha," or Fernando de Noronha, discovered in 1506 by the

Portuguese navigator of that name. This lonely, harborless isle, with its remarkable peak (Scribner's *Monthly*, Feb., 1876), appears ready to be what it is now, the Sing Sing of Brazil; while St. Helena, discovered on the festival of that saint, 1501, is waiting to imprison one of the world's great disturbers. There is also "Insyle Tristan Dacvna," found by the Portuguese, Dacuna, in 1506; and "Insyle Formose," while in the southern part of the Indian Ocean is "Insyle Grifonvm," or the Isle of Griffins.

Bermuda is prominent, having been laid down for the first time on Martyr's Map of 1511, and southward is "Catolica," possibly an alternate name for the "Island of the Seven Cities," which were reported in various places, the inhabitants being "good Catholics." Near this spot, on Ruysch's Map, 1508, is the word "Cata." An island which appears to be a duplicate of Cape Breton lies eastward of that region, and is called "Dobreta." It probably represents Sable Island. Northward is "S. Crvcis," not found to-day. Here we might pause to remark upon the ease with which islands that have no existence are found in the sea, and the corresponding difficulty of getting rid of them. Upon some of our best maps may be found such islands as "Jaquet Island," "Three Chimnies," "Mayda," "Amplimont," and "Green Rock." "Amplimont" is given in Bescherelle's Geographical Dictionary. On Colton's Atlas these islands lie in the track of navigation between France and Newfoundland. It is said that they originated with icebergs in the fog-banks, or possibly in the fog-banks themselves. It should be noticed, however, that this part of the ocean is volcanic, and that islands of considerable magnitude have risen from the sea at different times. The earliest eruption on record in the north Atlantic is that mentioned on the Map of Ruysch in the Ptolemy of 1508. Between Iceland and Greenland is the legend "*Insule hac 1456 anno Dno fvit totaliter combusta*;" or, "This island was entirely burned up, A. D. 1456." In Webster's work on St. Michael's Island may be found an account of the volcanic islands. Thomas Hickling, United States Consul, describes the formation of one named "Sabrina."

It would not, however, be proper to treat all these islands of Vlpus now missing in accordance with the volcanic theory. Amongst them is "Ins. viride," which may be regarded as a reminiscence of pre-Columbian voyages by the Portuguese and others to the fishing banks near Newfoundland, the largest being known as the "Grand Bank," while the lesser bear various names, amongst which is the "Green Bank." The latter shoal, known to be very rocky, was evidently taken by some map-maker for solid land, and laid down as an island. This

mistake is often made in our times. To a similar origin may be assigned "Jaquet Island," which came from the Jaquet Bank, a shoal near the edge of Grand Bank. "Mayda" is simply the "Maidas" of the early maps, while the "Three Chimnies," if not explained by some eruption, may have originated in such peculiarities of the bottom as that known as the "Whale Hole" on the bank of Newfoundland.

It would be a more difficult task, perhaps, to explain the origin of "S. Branda," or Brandon, which appears on the Globe of Vlpus. It is true, as already indicated, that sailors often shape islands out of the fog. An instance is found in the *Isle de Fer*, a reflection of which, often noticed by sailors, and called the land of Butter (*Terre de beurre*), was gravely ceded by the Spanish Government to Louis Perdignon. A similar explanation has often been given to St. Brandon by writers who are inclined to make their labors light. When an eclipse of the moon is observed by certain savages, they begin to beat drums to drive the evil spirits away. Many enlightened persons, however, infer that shadows are formed by the intervention of something approaching the nature of a solid. It is not forcing philosophy to demand a more reasonable explanation than any hitherto offered of such islands as St. Brandon. The *Fata Morgana* is perhaps quite as unsatisfactory as the theory of Satanic delusion, sometimes resorted to for the purpose of explaining the mystery. St. Brandon's Island, without any great stretch of the imagination, might be referred to a burning insular peak, so far as the etymology may be concerned; while, again, as the Irish monks were abroad upon the sea at an early period, some of them may have landed upon an island that afterward disappeared. In the case of the monks, it would have received due embellishment, since they were as fond of the marvellous as certain classes are to-day.

Turning to the Greenland section of the globe, a gratifying improvement upon Verrazano's outline is found, showing that Vlpus had consulted the maps of Ruysch, 1508, and Orontius Fines, 1531, though it will be well to remember in this connection that Behaim's Globe of 1492 shows land in the same direction. The Greenland section of Vlpus also indicates that the knowledge in possession of the Zeno Family at Venice found some expression in Italy before the publication of the Zeno Voyage and Map in 1558. Vlpus gives a clear denial to the Ptolemies respecting the situation of Greenland. The editor of the Ptolemy of 1482 knew of the Chronicle of Ivar Bardsen, and some of the names mentioned by him appear upon the editor's map; yet at the same time he assigns a false position to Greenland, which is made an

extension of Norway, while Iceland is laid down in the sea *west* of what is given as Greenland. Vlpplus, on the contrary, and in accordance with the fact, places Iceland *east* of Greenland, though both are thrown too far towards Europe. The waters of Greenland are represented as navigated, and nothing is perhaps more susceptible of proof than the fact that communication was never lost with Greenland from the tenth century down to the present day. Vlpplus, who seems to copy Ruysch's outline, leaves the space between Greenland and the west as unexplored, while Ruysch, on the other hand, makes Greenland, together with Newfoundland, part of Asia, Gog and Magog being in close proximity. It remained for the Zeno Map, published sixteen years after Vlpplus, to show the position of Greenland more distinctly, and at the same time to reveal the sites of the eastern and western colonies of Greenland, so erroneously supposed in later times to have been situated on the opposite coasts of that country. (Northmen in Maine, p. 30.)

It will be necessary next to speak of the coast names on the North American Continent, though it has been indicated previously that certain of them show an agreement with the names on the Verrazano Map. Along the eastern border of the Gulf of Mexico, adjoining Florida, may be seen "Rio Del Gato," or the Cat River; "Rio de Los Angeles," or River of the Angels; "P. de. S. Iohan"; "Navidad," or Nativity; "Costa Verde," or the Green Coast; "Costa de Corsales," which could hardly mean the Coast of the Corsairs. Perhaps it was placed here in honor of Andrea Corsali, the Florentine navigator in the service of Emanuel, King of Portugal, though no record is found of any voyage made by him to this region. "B. de Los Baxos," or the Shoal Bay, completes the list of names on this part of the Gulf.

On the Atlantic coast the names commence near South Carolina with the "B. della ✠," Bay of the Cross. Next is "Valleombrosa," the Shady Valley," which, with the neighboring coast, covered with sedge or reeds (*Calami*), reminds us of Milton's lines:

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High over-arch'd, imbower, or scatter'd sedge."

"Punta del Olivio" is evidently the same as Verrazano's Cape "Olimpe." Then follow "Selvi di Cervi," the Deer Park of Verrazano, and "Calami," similar to the "Carnavarall" of the Spanish maps. This brings us to "Lvngavilla" and "G. di. S. Germano," both Verrazano names, the former being Longueville, near Dieppe, and the

latter St. Germaine-en-Laye, the splendid residence of Francis I. "R. del Sole," River of the Sun, if not for Solis, is followed by "Normanvilla," a French city near Longueville. "C. S. Iohan" indicates southern New Jersey. "Porto Reale" follows, when suddenly we reach the river intended for the Penobscot or Norombega, which, as on the Map of Allefonsce, is thrown too far south. The coast being drawn on a small scale, the outline is confused. At the southern entrance of the river is "S. Franc. C.," or the Cape of St. Francis, delineated by Allefonsce as the "Franciscan Cape." Next is "Refvgivm Promont." intended for the Cape of Refuge" of the Verrazano Map, which afforded Verrazano a land-locked harbor, to-day identified with Newport. It must be observed again, however, that the outline of Vlpus is confused. The next name is "Corte Magiore," unless indeed "Magiore" belongs with the succeeding inscription. The signification is obscure, like that of "Flora," though the latter occurs in several of the Ptolemies of the period, including Mattiolo's, 1548, and in Ramusio's Verrazano sketch. Finally, "Cavo de Brettoni" is reached, or Cape Breton, a name usually referred to the French, but which may have been given by the Portuguese. The form, it will be observed, is Portuguese. "Cimeri," on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is a word whose use is not plain. The reading *may* be "cdmeri," and thus refer to the "Cosin de mer annano," or Oceanus of Schoner, 1520, signifying the Ocean Cape. With "Terra Laboratoris" we reach, not Labrador, the Portuguese "Land of the Laborers," but New Foundland. By mistake, "Laboratoris" is applied to New Foundland, as later to Cape Breton, the inland waters of which are to-day called "Bras d'or," previously lengthened from "Bradord," which, according to the fancy of some one, signified "the Arm of Gold." Thus easily are names emptied of their original signification. The coast line to "C. Frio," the Cold Cape of the Portuguese, represents New Foundland, one part of which is marked "Terra Corterealis." "C. Branco" is the White Cape, and "C. de Bona Vista" afforded a good view. Yet, whatever name may be given to New Foundland by the old cartographers, that of "Bacca. laos" always adheres, being derived from *Baculum*, a stick, often used to keep fish spread open when drying. "Baia dos Moros," at the Straits of Belle Isle, signifies Codfish Bay. "G. Datrometa" is a misspelling of "G. da Tormento," or the Gulf of Torment, found on Reinel and other charts, apparently referring to the stormy weather. "Ilhado" follows, and "R. da Braco" may signify the Shallow River. "C. Primero" is the first cape, "G. do plaçel" is the Gulf of the Sand Bank,

and "Dos Demonios," or the Island of the Demons, is often found. Greenland lies adjoining, being called "Groestlandia." It is separated from Labrador by the sea. As in several other maps, the name is repeated on an island lying westward as "Grovelat." The greater portion of the region around the Pole is shown as land, but north of Asia is an immense lake, "Mare Glaciale," found on the Nancy Globe.

Only two of the names between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence remain to-day. The French were nevertheless ambitious, and would have founded New France on the central portion of our coast if circumstances had proved more favorable. Trivial incidents sometimes turned them aside. But for a head wind when off Cape Cod, sailing southward in 1605, Champlain might have reached the Hudson, and instead of planting Port Royal in Nova Scotia, he might have established its foundations on Manhattan Island, in the region where Port Royal ("Porto Reale") was laid down by Vlpus. This would have made the greatest city in America a French city, and, possibly, changed the destiny of the continent.

It will be seen that Vlpus gives to France only that to which she was entitled. As far northward as the coast of the Carolinas, the territory is considered Spanish, while thence to the Gulf of St. Lawrence it is French, the rest being Portuguese, as allowed by the general use of Portuguese names. In 1542, when Cartier set out upon his expedition to colonize on the St. Lawrence, it was clearly understood at Rome what the French claimed. At the same time the globe, as pointed out, bears the line of Pope Alexander, by which the most of the New World was given to Spain. These facts, however, are consistent with one another, even on the supposition that the globe was made at the Vatican under the direction of the Cardinal-Presbyter Cervinus. That person, though loyal to the Papal throne, which he was destined to occupy, was not over friendly to Spain, having three years before refused a pension of ten thousand piastres from Charles V., who wished to win his support. Therefore, while recognizing the decree of Alexander, he might have been fair with the French, and thus conceded what they had accomplished in the New World by the aid of his countryman, Verrazano. However this may be, the French are recognized, and the most of the region now occupied by the United States was claimed for France as New Gaul. Cluverius (*Introductio ad Geographium*, ed. 1629) also speaks of New France as Gaul ("*Nova Francia Gallis.*") Did he know of the Globe of Vlpus? Cartier's voyage of 1534 is not men-

tioned, as he made no discoveries, but the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he entered, is left open. Ribero on his map indeed closes the Gulf, yet it was well known to the French at a very early period.

The open sea and isthmus on the Globe of Vlpius form a topic of special interest, but as it has been discussed already in connection with the Map of Verrazano, it will suffice here to add a few facts by way of illustration. The sea and isthmus were copied from Verrazano, and the existence of a body of water in close proximity to the Atlantic was generally believed. Often it was represented as lying further to the south, and hence some suppose that what was referred to may have been the Bay of Mexico. Again, the sea was supposed to lie near the St. Lawrence River, a belief that led the French to attempt the colonization of that rude and inhospitable country, in preference to the sunny and fertile regions explored farther southward by Verrazano. The Spaniards, on the same principle, as previously noted, proposed to fortify and colonize the Straits of Magellan. The St. Lawrence was supposed to lead directly into the "Sea of China." When Champlain went to Canada in 1608, he declared that he would not return until he reached the sea.

In 1612 he made a seventeen days' journey into the wilderness from Montreal to find the sea upon whose shore Vignan professed to have seen the wreck of an English ship. This man, who marched before Champlain through the tangled forests, has been called an impostor, and, with a musket leveled at his head, Vignan confessed himself one; yet no doubt he was as much deceived as Champlain, having acted upon the trusted relation of another, a course which he supposed would succeed, and bring him great credit. De Bry (*Brevis Narratio*, Pt. 2, 1591) represents the sea in his map, while the Virginia colonists entertained a similar idea. As late as 1651 the western sea was represented within about two hundred miles of the Atlantic coast, as appears from a map of that year, found in some copies of "The Discovery of Nevv Brittain." This error had its day, and then died; though not without manifesting a remarkable vitality. The belief was shared by Vlpius in common with Verrazano, the latter being as positive on the subject as Frobisher himself, both having committed the belief to maps.

Before drawing to a close, it may be desirable to give a brief sketch of the life of Marcellus. The portrait is a reduction in *fac simile* of that found in the work entitled, "*Uomini Illustri Toscani*," etc. Apart from all connection with the globe, it will be prized by collectors for its great

rarity. It is to Marcellus II. that we are indebted, in no small degree, for what, upon the whole, may be regarded as the most skillfully made of the ancient globes now known.

Marcellus Cervinus de Spanniocchi was the son of Riciardo Cervinus and Cassandra Benci, being born May 6th, 1501, at Montesano, a city of southern Italy, situated about seventy miles southeast of Naples. The family was originally of Montepulciano, near Siena. For that reason Pope Marcellus takes his place among the Sienese. His father was Apostolic Receiver for the March of Ancona. The early studies of Marcellus were conducted at Siena. Upon going to Rome he was appointed Secretary to Pope Julius III. In 1538 he served at the Court of Charles V. as Papal Ablegate. December 19th, 1539, he was created Cardinal. He also received the Bishopric of Neo Castro. December 15th, 1540, he was made titular Bishop of Reggio, Jacques Lainez performing the actual duty; and February 29th, 1544, Bishop of Gubbio.

Marcellus was present at the Diet of Spires, and April 30th, 1545, was made one of the three Presidents of the Council of Trent. April 5th, 1555, he was unanimously elected Pontiff, and the following day he was crowned. A violent stroke of apoplexy put an end to his life April 30th, after a reign of twenty-two days. If Marcellus had lived, he would have taken rank amongst the greatest of the Popes. Protestants praise him, and the worst enemies of Rome are obliged to concede his worth. His example was indeed unique; for the reformation of the clergy which, as Ranke observes, others talked about, he exhibited in his own person. He was zealous for a pure administration throughout the Church. Though, like his father, possessing certain astrological tastes, he was sincerely devoted to pure science, literature and criticism. He advocated the reformation of the calendar, in accordance with a plan devised by his father. At the time the impression went abroad that the world was to suffer from an universal deluge, a belief which, it is said, drove Clement VII. to the high grounds of Tivoli, Marcellus, then but little known, wrote a treatise to dissipate the notion. Amongst his elegant Latin poems is one "*De Somnio Scipionis*." His disposition was somewhat severe, and he wished to inaugurate strong measures against the Lutherans and Calvinists; being desirous, also, of reassembling the Council of Trent. His severity even led him to propose the abolition of music in the Church; but when at Easter, Palestrina, then Chapel Master of the Vatican, composed a Mass for six voices, its effect was so great that the Pontiff burst into tears. He at once abandoned his purpose, and the Mass has since been known as the Mass of Pope

Marcellus II. The tastes of this Pontiff were elegant. He was himself an accomplished draughtsman, and a good sculptor. He loved to surround himself with learned and scientific men. Being fond of history and antiquities, it is presumable that he was interested in geography. At the time when the Globe of Vlpius was made, 1542, he was wholly devoted to studious pursuits, being also charged with the care of the Vatican Library. He was distinguished for his height, though his figure was spare. His eyes were black, and the expression of his countenance, according to his portrait and written testimony, was pleasing and agreeable. It is recorded that, while possessing gaiety of disposition, he seldom laughed. Two medals, described by D'Artaud, were struck in his honor. (*"Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains."*)

This account of the Life of Pope Marcellus quashes the last indictment drawn against Verrazano, where it is declared: "Even the Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpius, a name otherwise unknown, is represented to have been constructed for Marcellus, who had been archbishop of Florence. They are all the testimony of Florence in her own behalf." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 150.) As it happens, however, Cervinus was never Archbishop of Florence, and held no office in that city, which for generations attempted no recognition of Verrazano, it not being known that a copy of the Navigator's Letter existed in the archives. The Globe of Vlpius, no more than the Map of Verrazano, is associated with any fraud. The charge is based upon a misconception of the facts, and must be abandoned. The instrument in question is a Roman production, the design of which may yet be traced to Marcellus himself, who was known for his ability and skill in this kind of work. Nevertheless, by whomsoever it may have been designed, this ancient globe has come to us from the Eternal City, finding a permanent resting place at last, not without a certain fine justice, in the great metropolis which looks out upon the splendid harbor visited and described by him whose name is so prominently engraved upon the portion representing the New World. If the history of the globe could be written, it would be found to possess the charms of romance. This may be the very globe that, as Hakluyt said, "*seemeth* to be of Verrasanus making," and which Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to consult in the gallery at Westminster. If so, by what means did it reach England? It certainly went to Spain, and there, the instrument upon which perhaps more than one Pope read the decree of his predecessor, Alexander, was finally banished to the realm of worthless antiquities. Yet it is a rare souvenir of the past. It embodies many of the great aspirations of the sixteenth century. It

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THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS—1542

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VERRAZANO THE EXPLORER

BY
B. F. DECOSTA



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